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WHICH IS ADDED
A COMPLETE ABSTRACT
FROM THE
PRINTED LISTS,
TO SHew THAT THERE ARE UPWARDS
OF FULL AND HALF-PAY, WHILST
OVER ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY EIGHT VA-
LUABLE MEN AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE.

rum cras nec fuge Quærere.

se verum quis vetat?

PREPARED TO THE
Francis EARL of MOIRA.

LONDON:
Oxford Street, opposite New Bond Street,
1794.



DESULTORY SKETCH
OF THE
ABUSES in the MILITIA,
WITH
COMPARATIVE REFLECTIONS
ON THE
Increase of our Military Establishments
AND THE
Decrease of our Manufactures ;
TO WHICH IS ADDED
AN ACCURATE ABSTRACT
FROM THE
LAST PRINTED LISTS,

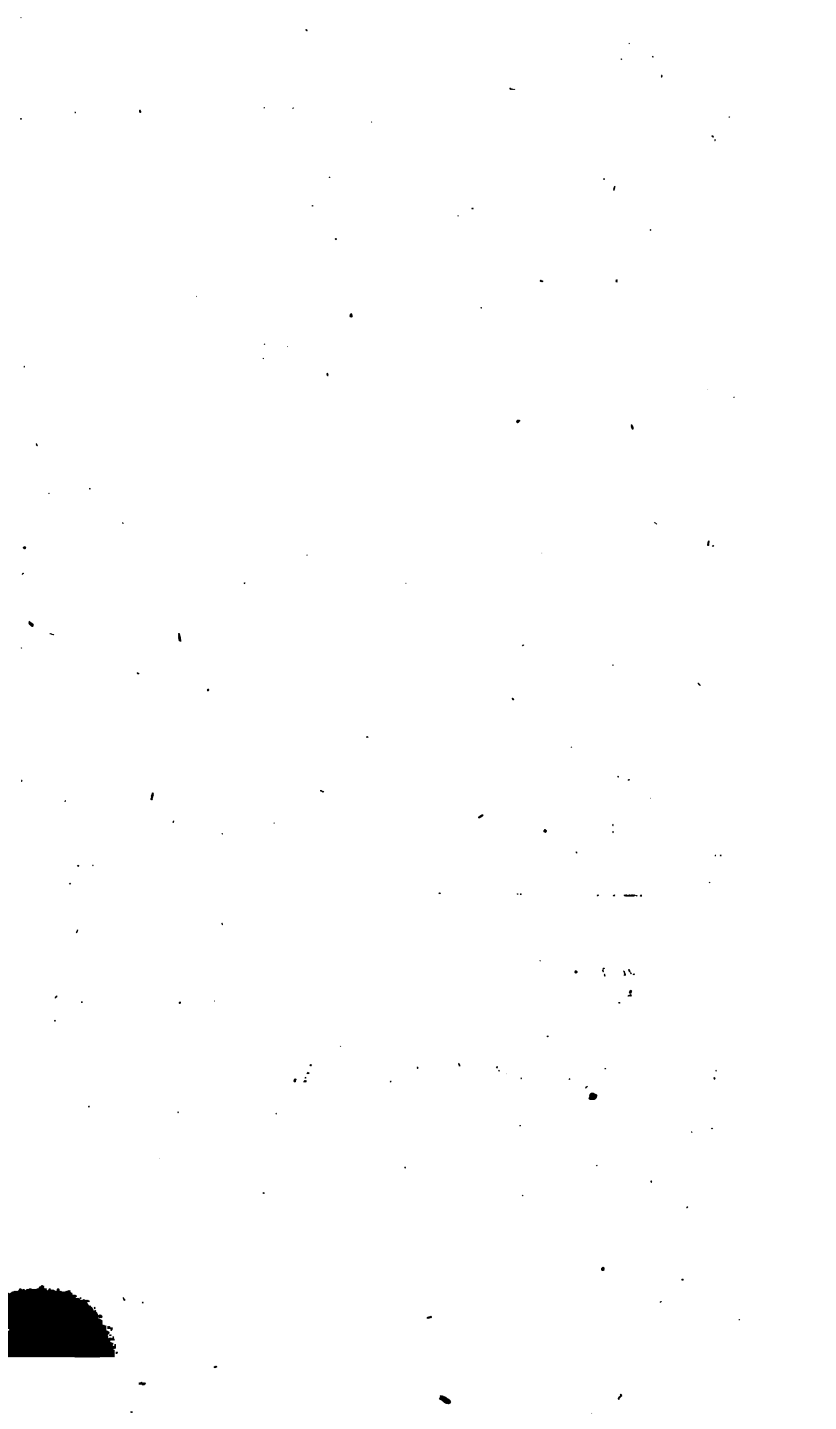
BY WHICH IT WILL APPEAR THAT THERE ARE UPWARDS
OF 14000 OFFICERS, ON FULL AND HALF-PAY, WHILST
THERE EXIST TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY EIGHT VA-
CANCIES IN THE MILITIA AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE.

Quid sit futurum cras nec fuge Quærere.

Dicere verum quis vetat ?

ADDRESSED TO THE
Right Honble. Francis EARL of MOIRA.

LONDON :
Printed for J. BELL, Oxford Street, opposite New Bond Street,
1794.



INTRODUCTION.

"The Liberty of the Press is our only resource. It will command an audience, when every honest man in the Kingdom is excluded. This glorious privilege may be a security to the King, as well as a resource to his People."

JUNIUS.

THE following Cursory Remarks have been thrown together within a very limited space of time, under the pressure of much avocation, and during the intervals of Duty, by no means congenial to any sort of literary arrangement. They have insensibly grown to a larger size than the author ever intended they should, and are the offspring of many observations founded upon Facts which still exist. But they are brought forward not so much to criminate the Leaders in Government for the palpable abuses of their Servants, as to
rouse

under the influence of timidity to so high a degree that he would rather be deprived of life than suffer the amputation of a mortified limb, it is humanity to despise his fears by enforcing the operation. That this simile would hold good in almost every situation of the body politic no man could deny were not the alarms of the country of so complicated a nature that the very shadow of energetic remonstrance on the side of the people, will be readily construed into open insurrection. Persecution—I wish I could use a milder term—seems posted at the entrance of almost every office not only to prevent correction but to punish investigation. With a sentry of that sort, corruption sits plumed within the limits of its own indulgence and ridicules the admonitions of men who, by a candid comparison of events and causes, endeavour to obviate effects.

Such is the honest purport of the following Address—It is not to criminate Government but to convince the members of it that they as well as the rest of mankind may be deceived; and that how-
ever

ever excellent the Constitution be in Theory, the most inveterate evils must unavoidably follow the misapplication of its principles in practice. Whatever arguments interest or fear may adduce to put off a rational Reformation of acknowledged abuses, none, I presume, can be brought forward that will render it either dangerous or superfluous to enforce the practice of those regulations and laws which constitute the essence of each separate Establishment. Whether they are answered in the Militia the few cursory remarks which are occasionally interspersed in the following work will discover; and it may likewise appear whether a coincidence of circumstances, allied to the same corruptions which have sunk our neighbours in anarchy and blood, might not be prevented by a seasonable removal of them.

The idea of a reform has been rendered terrific because a sudden annihilation of overgrown political evils was proposed before the temperate investigation of relative abuses had been cautiously considered. Every sensible and well informed man must feel that the present hour is not calculated for
an

an immediate change in so important a system as the representation of the Land; but will the most ignorant affect to say that evils which come within the cognizance of its members are therefore to be patiently endured? The top and railing of a Bridge may surely be increased, diminished or adorned without meddling with the Central Arch. ? The critical dilemma into which this country is thrown has been occasioned by one party grasping too large an object for unqualified reformation at once, and by the other not having virtue or resolution enough to make gradual amendments. Hence that ready acquiescence to every species of Association against the trite and hacknied term of levelling Philosophy; and hence that lamentable mistrust which has divided from each other the sincerest wellwishers to their country. So difficult is it to establish confidence where Interest, Fear or Prejudice prevail. Uninfluenced by any one of the three---as far at least as my own personal considerations can extend I am free to say that these Sheets go into the World accompanied by facts which are introduced with impartiality. They are addressed to a man whose whole

whole tenour of life has been uniformly marked by the noblest impulse of unaffected Patriotism ; and whose peculiar situation at this juncture corroborates the opinion which every one must have derived from his acknowledged abilities, both as a Soldier and a Senator. To Him the subject must be interesting because it was from him that the first enquiry came into the expenditure of public money. Whether it may be his fate and the consequent good fortune of the country to have the unravelling of the same intricate business continued, time only and the events of war will shew. But whether they should or not, the importance of the Subject will be sufficiently pressing to call forth the exertions of such men as are neither staggered into an apathy to public Duty by created fears, nor swayed by private lucre.

To those few therefore, and to those only, who place the welfare of a commercial country, not in the strength of military speculation or artificial credit, but in the solid uninterrupted growth of property, these desultory observations are submitted. Should they

they provoke enquiry, the principal object for which they were written will be completely answered--- With regard to any personal offence which may be taken from the freedom of remark, the Author presumes to say, without arrogating to himself any peculiar share of knowledge, spirit or perseverance, that he means to continue his researches in spite of every obstacle or imagined insult that spite or malice may suggest. We are, thank God, arrived at an age when individuals--call them Philosophers or by any other name---not only promulgate opinions for the good of their fellow creatures, unconnected with parties, but when truth and reason are magnanimously supported at the risk of personal security---The Dulce et decorum Pro Patria mori was the fictitious maxim of an antient flatterer; to be exiled or to even be led to the Scaffold and to smile at death, in the consciousness of being right, is the real one of modern virtue. Among the strange and novel principles which have appeared in the Revolution of France, one has certainly prevailed which, for strength of thought and energy of action, far outdoes antiquity;

Wri-

*Writers and Legislators have been found who have practically shewn that minds, under the influence of conviction, will face all the calamities of life and vindicate opinion in the actual certainty of Death.**

* On the 29th of November 1792 the Author had occasion to bear personal testimony to the truth of this observation. Rabaud De St. Etienne, (who was beheaded the 6th of December, 1793,) after some conversation relative to Revolutions in general, but to Factions in particular which are always their concomitants, concluded by saying "it is possible that the best wellwishers to their country may fall before the Revolution is perfectly settled; If it should be my fate to perish in so honourable a cause, mankind will find me one of the few who write and act alike—The same unshaken steadiness which has carried me through every political Storm, from the first National Assembly down to the present Convention, will, I hope, accompany me to the Scaffold." In the death of this zealous and indefatigable advocate for civil Liberty the political world has suffered an irreparable loss. The continuation of his History of the Revolution, (the first part of which is sold at Debrett's, Piccadilly;) would have placed a variety of questionable events in the clearest light.—But as all his papers were ordered to be burnt, it

Never-

Nevertheless, I am far from wishing to insinuate that the following collection of comparative Remarks is sent into the world by an unqualified impulse of defiance ; or that, because I attack the abuses of situations, I throw down the gauntlet for any individual who may think himself injured or insulted by belonging to them. At the same time I am free to declare that, as the fear of producing private offence, private injury or private disappointment shall never induce me to withhold public wrongs, the dread of resentment from one or many, will, I trust, have little influence over a mind which is prepared for every extreme of either.

is more than probable that those manuscripts have been likewise destroyed. If his friend and secretary should have escaped, there are hopes however to the contrary ; and it may be the Author's good fortune, (from his acquaintance with him, and the possibility of meeting some time or other,) to send them into public in a faithful authenticated manner.—The unfortunate writer himself was well known to Mrs. Barbauld, formerly Miss Aickin. The correspondence of two such minds if given to the World, must instruct it.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS,

Ec.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Moira.

DICERE VERUM QVIS VETAT ?

MY LORD,

IF it were in the character of a man, whom a certain worthy Marquis once condescended to call, with the most satisfactory irony, *One of those bad men who speak and write their sentiments**, to flatter Rank and adu-

* At a public ball which Lord Townshend gave to the inhabitants of Yarmouth, in October last, and to which the officers belonging to Hopton and Caistor

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late

late Nobility, I know no family, on the representative of which I could so largely expatiate as upon that of the RAWDONs, and no individual to whose private good qualities as well as public virtues, I would so readily pay my tribute of admiration as to your own. But I had rather run the hazard of being thought too blunt, than expose myself to the just reproach of every honest man by sacrificing truth to compliment. These are not times, my Lord, for flattery to conceal national misfortunes, or for candour to withdraw because camps were invited, his Lordship accosted the Author in the manner above mentioned, and received for answer, "*That if to write and speak one's sentiments constituted a bad man, his Lordship must be bad indeed, for that he had always both written and spoken his Sentiments.*"

crooked

the crooked policy of a few renders it dangerous to undeceive the many.

There is an inveteracy of evil amongst us which stands in need of the sharpest probe ; and events hourly prove that superficial corrections in government, like temporary alleviations from medicine, only contribute to that increasing distemper which must soon or late get the better of expedients.

We are arrived at an epoch, my Lord, round which impenetrable darkness hangs, and in the womb of which unprecedented horrors are impregnated.—These are not the gloomy suggestions of solitary disaffection,

fection, nor the artful dictates of political ingenuity; they are observations drawn from the result of comparative reflection; and thoughts in theory which our distracted neighbours have lamentably proved in practice.

History, my Lord, through all its hoary records, does not furnish *one* example to which the thinking man may resort to strengthen reason by analogy.—France alone stands unconnected with precedent and leaves antiquity to all the labyrinths of puzzling conjecture. Kingdoms have been overthrown, religions have been altered.—For every nation, whether civilized or barbarous, has had a Deity to worship.—And various

ous governments have succeeded to one another : But the means were only changed by gradual innovations, without entirely destroying the original object of society. If sceptres were wrested from the hands of tyrants, it was perhaps for no other purpose than to shift the diadem ; if governments were dissolved, it was only to ameliorate imperfect institutions, to renovate old parts, and by the substitution of new ones to render the political fabric more capable of bearing the shocks and outrages of time ; and if Religion (until the present century, the secret spring of action in every civilized country) had her share in the vicissitudes of human things, it was only to arrive at the
same

same point by directing the compass of enquiry to different latitudes: But amidst the stupendous crash of Monarchy before us, amidst the blood and defolation which mark its fragments, and in the entire dissolution of what had stood the test of above fourteen Hundred years establishment, there is not a path to be found where history may repair and reason on futurity. It is a chaos so impervious to human intellect, that as Time advances, his scythe seems to cut down every vestige of antiquity to prepare an universal waste on which new opinions may rise as fast as old ones perish.

This, my Lord, is a faint but melancholy sketch of a revolution which
Ministers

Ministers seem determined to subdue at the expence of our purest blood, and for which every vital of the land must be exhausted.

*Without entering into the good or bad policy of our present hostilities, let us seriously look to that similarity and coincidence of things which may afford precaution to ourselves.

His Majesty's late proclamation sufficiently proves the contrite state of those men, who, after the evacuation of Holland, were still inflexibly

*The reader will be pleased to recollect that this address was wholly written before it was publickly known that the Earl of Moira would *accept* of his present command.—Fortunately for the many hundreds who love and value him, he has done it with honour and consistency ; Nunquam dispar sibi.

bent

bent upon giving laws to a people with whose internal system of government they had publicly pledged themselves never to interfere. But the policy of modern councils seems calculated to coalesce with palpable Contradiction. The Public mind is no sooner juggled into a belief of domestic troubles and insurrections, than the Bugbear of a foreign Treaty is produced to reconcile it to the most lamentable waste of blood and treasure abroad, and the most gloomy scene of mutilated Trade at Home. Poverty, my Lord, sits, like a screech-owl that forebodes National misfortune, upon every manufacture of the Country ; and while the Opulent are partially subscribing a few flannel waistcoats for our bleeding country-

try-

trymen in Flanders, the nerves and sinews of the Land are hourly wasting, and blank disgust is seen where spirit, industry and speculation should exist.

Thus far I have indulged the suggestions of a mind which, for the last five years, has narrowly watched the political state of Europe; which has visited the shocks of the present Revolution, not like a Knight-errant in chivalry, by humouring reports at home, but by intimately mixing in the troubled scenes abroad, and which, in spite of obloquy, has uniformly maintained opinions founded upon personal observation against the circulated falsehoods of interest and misinterpretation; which, in a word,

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has submitted to be thought *inhuman because it could not be unjust ; and to sacrifice the good wishes of private friendship, because it would not give up public candour.

To proceed, therefore, my Lord, from a train of reasoning which has hitherto been confined to generalities, allow me the liberty to direct your Lordship's mind to a more particular but not less important subject, as it is materially connected with the foregoing observations. A subject, my Lord, which must be peculiarly interesting to you because it is arriv-

*The author alludes to the many false constructions which have reached him relative to his *Extenuation of the Conduct of the French Revolutionists*, before the execution of Louis the xvi.

ing

ing out of the obscurity of neglected infancy, at improving manhood, and may be essentially beneficial if properly conducted; I mean the Militia of Great Britain!

The enormous expenditure of public property to support our contest with an exasperated people, who are combating for new opinions and are unanimous in their entire abjuration of the old, cannot be a matter of indifference to any thinking Englishman. And as the Militia is by no means an inconsiderable addition to the Taxes which Continental Wars invariably bring forward, it is incumbent upon every true well-wisher to his country scrupulously to weigh

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not only the cause of that increase but its eventual benefits.

The Line, my Lord, (a term perhaps invidiously adopted to create distinctions where there should be an unanimous spirit and co-operation) has hitherto been looked upon as a Profession in which Honour and Emolument are jointly to be obtained, nor has one of the most serviceable Corps in Great Britain, (the Marines,) till very lately, had that justice done to them which the noble exertions, in the hour of imminent danger, merit.

There has been a jealousy of Rank and Situation that every Soldier at heart must pity and despise. Infular

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as we are by nature and commercial from disposition, it is a folly which none but fools will cherish to aim at *more* military grandeur. — Beyond the fugatory pomp and decorations that surround the Palace, there is no necessity for those gorgeous appendages which are attached to men whose interest is to serve Oppression, and whose will is Tyranny's injunction.

Among the Despots of Europe—
and Britain, until the present lamentable co-operation with them, has ever been distinguished by a liberty *they* dare not foster—amongst them, my Lord, the mind and person of the Subject are equally shackled and
sub-

subservient. The death's head* which glooms upon the forehead of the Prussian Hussar is not less a caput mortuum with regard to Freedom than is the inert and callous brain beneath it. Let slip, like the dogs of war, as our immortal Shakespear justly says, they rush into scenes of blood and desolation without one opinion of their own ; and being themselves lost to sentiment or feeling act upon every principle that Tyranny suggests. The shell that flies before them is not less insensible to humanity nor less impregnated with all the ingredients of ruin than are mere Soldiers ;

* There is a body of Cavalry, in Prussia, called the Death-Hussars, who are clothed in black and have the fronts of their caps decorated with death's heads.

Cha-

Characters, my Lord, if such they may be called, so far from meriting distinction or reward, that, as they are the pests of civilized community, they should be the execration of civilized independence.

Let it not be inferred from this observation that Military-men are useless members in society, or that society could subsist without them. Event, even among the French, hourly convinces us to the contrary; and shews how indispensably necessary coercion is to check the vicious and shield the virtuous part of mankind. While there are passions in the human breast there must be policy to thwart intrigue and force to conquer violence. But it does not therefore

fore follow that sense and sentiment should be forgotten, or that the mere mechanical character of a Soldier should supersede the dignity of a man.

When the Citizen and the Soldier go together, I do not conceive it possible to point out human nature in a more deserving or a more exalted situation. While the mind directs in council the body fulfils the plans of military science, by being at the same time actuated with no small proportion of legislative wisdom.

To corroborate these remarks by
* living instances, might be invidi-

* Although Dumourier has strongly corroborated this observation by the versatility of his Genius, the

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construed, and would consequently defeat the object of this introduction to a larger work ; I shall therefore only add, my Lord, that History scarcely furnishes an illustrious military character without at the same time adducing various proof of legislative knowledge. Hence that insuperable valour which almost always animates the chief who has proved himself as able in negotiation as he is invincible in Battle. What prejudice, fear, error or design, falsely stile fanaticism hurried blindfold into scenes of slaughter and destruction, too frequently is found

author is too proud of a much nobler exemplification in the Earl of Moira, to chequer the remark with self-interest and inconsistency ; General Washington would not disgrace it.

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to be the calm determination of strong sense acting from necessity.

On occasions of this sort, my Lord, the profession of Arms is a great and honourable function ; on all others, and few, I fear, of the present age can be expected—War becomes a Trade by which Tyranny preys upon subjection, and Villainy distracts Society from *mercenary* motives. This is an Epithet, my Lord, which custom has made familiar to the ear of Soldiers, but it is a term against which every Briton should oppose British truth, and British honesty ; and if it still must be amongst us, let the hard necessity to which our foreign connections have reduced us of keeping allies in pay,

pay, be the only record wherein Posterity shall see it written. The hour perhaps is not far distant when it will be impossible to prevent Enquiry by the visionary dangers of Reform, or to keep up an immense external army, without explaining to the Land at large the benefits we are to derive from this offensive contest; and if none should be found to confront investigation, where, let me ask, my Lord, will the baffled projects of confined intrigue and narrow speculation rest? Not upon the easy confidence of a people who, as JUNIUS properly remarks, "have erred as much in a mistaken zeal for particular persons and families as they ever did in defence of what they thought most dear and interesting to themselves

selves ;" not upon the credulity of those men whose wealth has been lavished to support opinion, nor upon the superficial influence of a few for whom the many have been robbed of solid consequence.

There was a time, my Lord, when this country might have given Laws to Europe ; when her vessels might unmolested have visited each quarter of the habitable Globe, and when even France herself would have listened to Great Britain. Sed heu spes inanes et irritus hominum labor !* In the room of enlivened com-

* In the year 1788, the author was a frequent witness in France to those lamentable effects which an enormous expenditure of public property occasions, and which is never so visible as in the wretchedness of

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merce and industry, fullen inactivity
and pining want sit at every door,

Commerce. Notwithstanding the success of the French cabinet, in having completely dismembered the British Empire, by assisting the Rebel Colonies, their own resources were drained, and every month was an approach to general bankruptcy.

It was under the same short-sighted administration, that our memorable commercial treaty took place; an event that gave a death-blow to all the political expedients of Vergennes, Necker and Calonne. Instead of relieving the distresses of the people by a curtailment of unnecessary grandeur, and a salutary distribution of honours and emoluments through every degree of just subordination, partial œconomy, confined to partial purposes, served to cover political ulcers which were gnawing into the very vitals of the country. The unprovoked aggression of France in America, has been the downfall of those who first advised it; and the means of breaking asunder a concatenation of interests that might otherwise have been kept together, without an abrupt dissolution of the whole system, or have been gradually repaired by a seasonable change of men and

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and nothing but the treacherous record of a few partial triumphs abroad can suspend for a moment the growing murmurs which exist at home. The day of reckoning, however, must appear at last ; and when it does, how

measures. May the alliances of Great Britain, whether provoked or not, with the armed confederacy of Europe, never entail upon her, (through a similar neglect of her own affairs) a similar train of calamities from her officious interference with those of others. Not that any true Englishman can be averse to every exertion being made, as we are engaged, but that all parties must lament, that when the mediation of this country, or even a vigorous co-operation with Prussia and the Empire in 1792, might have reconciled or overcome a distracted Kingdom, every opportunity was sacrificed to public etiquette or private faction. But there seems to be a fatality attached to the natives of this unrivalled island, which is never to be instructed by the political tricks and artifices of others, nor to see danger or beggary until both assail their doors.

wil

will the flimsy fabric of Finance be able to answer the increased and long demands of honest confidence? What reply will be given to the keen question of the Land respecting numberless situations, Military as well as civil, in which private accommodation hourly delapidates public property? In which the Drones of Patronage (a swarm of Locusts!) fatten upon the fruits of industry, and over which the clouds of mystery are thrown that Ignorance and Inactivity may shine, like unprofitable glow-worms, with the plundered light of merit and good sense.

I am well aware, my Lord, of the very ungracious reception which language of this sort will meet with from
every

every man whose interest is above his duty, or whose fears are stronger than his reason. But as I have already remarked, *These are not times for flattery to conceal national misfortunes, or for truth to withdraw because the crooked policy of a Few renders it dangerous to undeceive the Many.*

Driven, as the whole country appears to be, to the extremest verge of the island, from real or ungrounded apprehensions of Invasion, it becomes seriously incumbent upon every well wisher to Great Britain to come forth without a dictate of Party or an impulse of private accommodation. It becomes him, or he is a secret Apostate to the trust, to be as undisguised in his motives as he is distinguished
in

in his situation; and never to make use of public property without religiously fulfilling every call of public duty. This is neither romance nor an affected reference to the traditions of antiquity : it is a species of honest theory, my Lord, gloriously conspicuous in every path of your political career, but in none so much as in the one in which you are moving : it is a theory, which, if not now speedily reduced to action, may wholly vanish from a country whose constitution, when properly managed, is most congenial to it ; it is a theory, that will not require much political knowledge nor refinement of observation to discover how the finances of a country, confessedly wasted dur-

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ing the American contest, and by no means improved at the present moment, should still hold out.

Public bankruptcy, like private failures, is kept off by artificial property. If the expences of the tradesman's family increase in proportion as his capital diminishes, the current account must be hourly loaded and the winding up at the end of the year exhibits a deficiency which nothing but the most ruinous expedients can replace ; and as these expedients are in general, either hazardous speculation or extended credit built upon possible events*, the par-

*The force of this observation will be readily felt by every man who is the least acquainted with the Arti-

tial extravagance of himself or others continues to be supplied till every resource is gone, and a shameful dishonest issue becomes the melancholy fruit of weakness or ambition.

As external speculation, aided by internal loans, and almost always accompanied by domestic extravagance are usually the forerunners of bankruptcy in a private family, so we generally find that foreign Treaties, hastily signed, inconsiderately pursued, and supported at an enormous price, as they constitute

ficial props of some commercial Speculations--Smith in his ingenious work upon the Wealth of Nations, justly remarks *'that the management of a Great Nation is like the management of a private Family.'*

government speculations, invariably terminate in national misfortunes ; especially if a country, whose riches are the fruits of industry and peace, should be engaged in a contest which not only puts a stop to all the manufactures but exhausts her capital while it deprives them of the very means that should increase it.

Without presuming to call in question the truth of a public Manifesto, I may not deviate from the reality of the case when I assert, as I have already asserted in a former pamphlet, that England might have remained secure and unmolested, if England had had the welfare of England only to consult.

I dwell the longer upon this subject because I know, my Lord, that no man was ever more averse than you were to the first commencement of hostilities, while there remained an opening for separate negotiation with France; and that none ever saw more clearly the benefits which must have followed from Neutrality.

But what appears contradiction and impolicy to plain sense will hereafter, perhaps be found to have been prudent Foresight, led through the labyrinths of strange events by diplomatic Wisdom. Here then the inquisitive Reasoner and Sceptic in Court Intrigues must be satisfied to rest;

rest; Time alone will explain the riddle, and English patience, aided by English credulity must still be rocked by hope and expectation. But the Rubicon is crossed----England and her Allies have undertaken to subdue a People whom Enthusiasm fanned by Victory has lifted above the common level of Resistance.

You and your brave followers, my Lord, will have to encounter Fanaticism kept alive by trick, smiling upon the wreck of Royalty and Order, familiarized to blood and rivetted to Destruction. You will have to vanquish the most complicated treachery on one side, and the most unexampled violence on the other.

The

The largest portion of the inhabitants of the country, in fact, are now arrived at the paroxysm of that Republican Mania which has hitherto baffled all opposition, and which has neither been kept under by force nor been assuaged by reason. Be not too credulous of what, in the sanguine wish of restoration, the Royalists may promise. To the eye of impatient calamity the prospects of Hope are always brighter than events exhibit. The solid form of Reality has never yet corresponded with the enlarged and shadowy figure that*looms upon

* I have adopted this Sea Term, because it may serve to exhibit to the eyes of imagination the sanguine hopes of the inhabitants of two capital Sea-Ports on the late rumour respecting Lord Howe. The author was present at the landing of sixty two French Pri-

Idea.

Idea---If calm determined courage and avowed experience in yourself connected with the most unbounded confidence in every individual of your followers can ensure success, that success will assuredly be yours as far as limited exertion can produce it. Nevertheless there are melancholy proofs before us of that high Enthusiasm will do, which can wade through the blood of consanguinity and break asunder the dearest bonds of Nature to support Opinion---Novelty My Lord, is attractive in the most trifling Situations.

soners, being the whole of that immense multitude which were to have filled Forton and other Prisons from *Seven Ships* of the Line and *Sixty Transports*---
Risum teneatis Amici !

But

But when novelty has the alluring image of emancipation to lead its votaries out of the dungeons of veteran tyranny, the light it affords to the human breast, reflects as many colours as the diversity of human passions can supply.

The *liberty* that Frenchmen fight for is like a phantom that escapes the grasp, but never leaves the sight*.—

*This observation puts me in mind of a very trite, but at the same time, of a very apposite comparison, namely, of a bird, which after a long and close confinement to his cage, is suddenly let loose in a room. His object is free air—He instantly dashes against the windows, and, at the risk of his life, endeavours to fly from a quarter which even long habit could not make congenial to his nature. Should his escape be effected,

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The *oppression* which they fight against, is what every individual amongst them has both felt and seen; and until the majority of the nation can be thoroughly convinced that the combination of Europe is not to restore the antient despotism of a few individuals over Twenty-five Millions of their Fellow-creatures, much the larger portion of so immense a population will be sooner satisfied with what they do not understand and perish to support it, than be compelled to receive amongst them the shattered remains of mutilated Monarchy.

he is, probably, for a time, as little capable of enjoying the most unlimited freedom, as he was averse to the most confined state of solitary captivity.

That

That the object of the people at large is to establish those Rights, of which they have been avowedly deprived for many hundred years, no calm and unprejudiced observer will deny, nor will the most inveterate of their enemies maintain that universal Anarchy is their wish, or that their freedom must eventually undermine every other government in Europe.

It may not be irrelevant to ask of men who reason upon such an unnatural and fallacious ground, whether the Revolution brought about by the Fanatics under Oliver Cromwell or the Secession of the Thirteen United Provinces was ever looked upon

upon as signals of their own destruction? On the contrary, France received Henrietta without interfering in the internal concerns of a country which had brought her husband to the block, and wisely left the tumults of civil commotion to subside without adding to the storm. Spain, with no less sagacity, returned to its own sultry clime, without attempting to regain by force, what the phlegmatic Dutchman was resolved to perish rather than again surrender.

What then, (it will be asked, and not unreasonably) can induce the different powers of Europe, but most especially Great Britain, to wage
war

war with a nation, which, if left to itself, might gradually return to order, and from a lamentable experience of its own calamities never more disturb the tranquillity of others? The two awful lessons which are given to mankind by the old government of France on one side, and the anarchy which has followed its dissolution on the other, will contribute more towards establishing universal concord and philanthropy than either the fantastic visions of unrestrained Democracy or the unmanly dictates of privileged Nobility. Commerce, the peaceful channel whereby the intercourse of nations is kept up, will no longer be subjected to those ungenerous restraints which
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the pride and indolence of the Court of Versailles rendered necessary for the preservation of those Military establishments that have so often been the instruments of bloodshed and destruction; national differences will be settled by national remonstrances; and if force must be resorted to, public necessity will be directed by the compass of public welfare; without that mean intrigue of Courts which rendered the aggregate of mankind the patient dupes of insolent depravity.

It will not be difficult to infer from these observations, that the confederacy against France is not so much to restore that antient system of
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of despotism by which the people were miserably fettered, or to prevent the dissemination of principles whose own excess and contradictions must eventually correct themselves, as to indemnify certain Powers for an enormous expenditure of men and treasure.

It is to the original exile of the French nobility, and their subsequent negotiations in the Empire, that Great Britain, at least, is indebted for her present share of awkward interference. I call it awkward, because there has been a time, fresh in the memory of us all, when the French Revolution was the idol and admiration of Englishmen, while
the

the infamous Treaty of Pillnitz was deservedly their abhorrence. Partially engaged, we did not foresee to what extremes of wretchedness the war would lead, or perhaps consider how much easier it would prove to begin than to terminate hostilities when artful and ingenious Treaties stood in the way of honest Negotiation.

Vienna, London and Berlin, had, in fact, been the Rendezvous of beggared Grandeur, for the reinstatement of which Loans were made whose liquidation could only be ensured by conquest. Being a Creditor among the rest, England, I presume, is reduced to that alternative

native of either loosing all it has advanced or continuing to assist the speculation; and you, my Lord, with that disinterested patriot-zeal which has ever marked your character, have generously waved every private consideration to extricate your country. Unconnected as you were, in private as well as political sentiment, with the original quarrel, you have generously undertaken a part which must involve you in every consequence it may produce. But you have done it like a friend whose counsels are at first neglected, but whose sagacity is at last found necessary to extricate imprudence; you have done it with that grandeur and consistency of mind which own no

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party

party when a country's welfare is at stake, and by so doing have convinced mankind that however a good man may differ in political opinion, his public duty can never be superseded by private sentiment.

Nevertheless, my Lord, no man that sincerely loves his country and by loving his country must be attached to you, who so unequivocally step forth to serve her, can with indifference behold the many contradictory systems which even now prevail amongst us. No man can with indifference see (few indeed with common patience) the noblest blood of the land profusely spilt abroad, whilst upstart indolence and low intrigue

frigue are glutted at home by little less than barefaced Embezzlement.

It has been very justly observed, my Lord, and events have strengthened the remark, that when Corruption has arrived to a certain pitch, it proves as dangerous to correct as it is to continue its abuses. But in no country, and under no government, is the dreadful alternative so visibly certain, as where individuals, elected from amongst their equals are accountable, at the Tribunal of the Land at large, for the mismanagement of public Property ; and it is wisely provided by the Constitution of Great Britain that every Distributor of national contributions, whether

ther Principal or Agent, shall at all times be liable to national investigation.

Against the mystery of office, under which private interest must invariably be couched, every man who venerates the Constitution must unequivocally set his face.—By mystery I beg to be understood to mean that impenetrable darkness which floats between the receipt and the disbursement of public money*.

* There have been so many instances of generosity in the English nation when either the person or the fortune of the individual were deemed necessary for the public welfare, that to detain the reader by the mention of them, would be trespassing upon the most common information. It may not, however, be super-

If

If we narrowly investigate the different situations into which whim or interest have led or the necessity of the State has drawn individuals at

stuous or irrelevant to observe, that there is a certain point beyond which the exertions of Patriotism will not bear extension without visible mistrust. In the passing of general accounts, for example, is it not natural to ask why the plain Debtor and Creditor are not openly displayed with as much conciseness and simplicity by annual Publications, as they appear complicated and unintelligible in their present state. In no one instance, but that of secret Service, should one farthing of Public Property be disposed of without the fullest conviction of an honest application being pressed upon the meanest capacity by the clearest statement. A publicity of this sort would at once annihilate Sinecures, render Service conspicuous, and shew mankind at large that the people of Great Britain are not only generous but just, and confident without absurd credulity.

this

this critical juncture, we shall, I fear, discover the most unbounded Peculation glutted by public contributions*. But in no department, my

* An anecdote lately occurred which will elucidate this passage by an abuse, that, I fear, does not stand alone—I will relate the fact as I heard it and leave the Admirers of Fortifications and Batteries (without men to guard them) to look round the coast for instances in point—An Engineer, as respectable for his professional merit as he is deservedly esteemed for the politeness of his manners, went lately, in the routine of duty, to visit the coast of Suffex: on his arrival at a certain fort, he endeavoured to obtain admittance; instead of being challenged by an alert centinel, after much knocking at the gate and no little challenging on his own part, he was answered by an old Woman who opened it.—He naturally, asked her where the Captain was? *Lord! and please your Honour, there is no Captain that lives here—the gentleman to whom this place belongs lives at a nice house about twenty-two miles off—I never see him for*

Lord,

Lord, have the Ravens of affected Patriotism so deeply fixed their talons as where neglect or known embezzlements have swelled our Military Establishments into a most gigantic size. So overgrown, in fact, is this political disorder, that, like the dropfy, it is fed with the very means by which ignorance or pride attempts to cure it.

It is a trite but a very just observation, "that every sort of distem-

my part. Where is the Lieutenant? And please your Honour, I dont know such a parson. Then where is the Gunner? Lord Sir, there is nobody here but myself, a cat and a few rats.—— I leave the reader (and should this pamphlet ever reach the Board of Ordnance, I leave a certain indefatigable D—e) to draw serious comments from this whimsical occurrence.

per is easier caught than cured :” and however the Sticklers, not to call them the Half-reasoners, of the present hour, may inveigh against and reprobate reforms, events will prove that as the expences of a war abroad must be answered by the resources at home, those resources cannot long subsist under a perpetual system of disbursement only ; especially when instead of curtailing national extravagance by lopping off exuberant situations, several that are already confessedly overgrown and useless, are, in a manner, mortgaged to every species of Military Speculation. That I may not be misunderstood, I will take the liberty to state the latest increase that has been made to what is

gene-

generally called the Army of Great Britain ; which, on a gross estimate, will be found to contain Ten Thousand Three Hundred Officers at least, who are upon the full or half-pay list*.

I shall here wave a very natural ques-

* I should deviate, most grossly, from the impartiality which I have endeavoured to maintain, not only in this, but in every former publication, did I not except the last wise and politic step of administration at the surrender of St. Domingo. The possessions we may acquire in the West Indies can alone indemnify England for either the negative conquests she may make, or the defeats she may sustain upon the continent of Europe.—The valuable capital which we obtain in the former, is well worth the limited interest of so trifling an addition to our half-pay list as a corps of officers. Would to Heaven that every increase were sanctioned by as much regard to the interests of posterity as this appears to be !

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tion relative to the immense body of men which so great a number of officers must be supposed to have under their command, and submit to your Lordship, as well as to the public at large, the following accurate abstract from the Militia, the Fencibles, and the Independent Companies. It is from a comparative calculation of these mixed additions only that the growth of public incumbrances can be fairly ascertained.

I shall begin with the Militia, because I honestly believe that, with every appearance of disinterestedness, it is an establishment in which Ignorance, Pomp, and private Interest

est too frequently defeat the first purposes of its institution.

	No. of Regiment.	Offic.	Vac.
Anglesea, ———	—	6	
Bedford ———	No. 42.	18	3
Berkshire ———	No. 30.	27	3
Brecon and Monmouthshire ———	No. 14.	23	1
Buckinghamshire ———	No. 38.	29	1
Cambridgeshire ———	No. 11.	27	
Cardiffshire ———	No. 17.	12	
Carnarvonshire ———	—	5	
Cheshire ———	No. 16.	25	6
Cornwall ———	No. 34.	30	3
Cumberland ———	No. 20.	15	3
Derbyshire ———	No. 26.	25	6
Devonshire, (East) ———	No. 41.	28	5
Devonshire, (North) ———	No. 41.	23	4
Devonshire, (South) ———	No. 4.	28	2
Dorsetshire ———	No. 43.	31	2
Durham ———	No. 10.	17	4
Essex, (East) ———	No. 21.	20	7
Essex, (West) ———	No. 21.	24	3
Flintshire ———	—	8	1
Glamorganshire ———	No. 5.	13	3
Gloucestershire, (North) ———	No. 8.	21	3
Gloucestershire, (South) ———	No. 8.	24	6
			<hr/>
			476 71
			<hr/>

Hampshire,

	No. of Regiment.	Off.	Yrs.
Brought over	476	71	
Hampshire, (North) ———	No. 6.	27	
Hampshire, (South) ———	No. 6.	21	3
Hampshire, (Isle of Wight) ———	No. 6.	6	
Herefordshire ———	No. 25.	27	
Hertfordshire ———	No. 44.	26	4
Huntingdonshire ———	No. 12.	15	9
Kent, (East) ———	No. 1.	15	4
Kent, (West) ———	No. 1.	29	3
Lancashire ———	No. 34.	27	6
Leicestershire ———	No. 2.	25	2
Lincolnshire, (North) ———	No. 36.	26	7
Lincolnshire, (South) ———	No. 3.	25	8
Merionethshire ———		6	
Middlesex, (East) ———	No. 22.	23	4
Middlesex, (West) ———	No. 22.	25	2
Middlesex, (Westminster) ———	No. 22.	27	
Montgomeryshire ———	No. 13.	15	
Norfolk, (East) ———	No. 4.	18	9
Norfolk, (West) ———	No. 4.	22	5
Northamptonshire ———	No. 45.	30	3
Northumberland ———	No. 23.	20	10
Nottinghamshire ———	No. 15.	23	4
Oxfordshire ———	No. 9.	23	7
Pembrokeshire ———		9	
Radnorshire ———		9	
Rutlandshire ———		9	
Shropshire ———	No. 28.	33	

1037 155

Somerset-

	No. of Regiment.	Off.	Vac.
Brought over	1037	155	
Somersetshire	No. 40.	34	5
Staffordshire	No. 27.	27	2
Suffolk, (East)	No. 19.	26	1
Suffolk, (West)	No. 19.	24	3
Surrey	No. 18.	30	9
Suffex	No. 24.	27	12
Warwickshire	No. 3.	29	4
Westmorland	No. 29.	4	6
Wiltshire	No. 35.	25	8
Worcestershire	No. 36.	25	5
Yorkshire, (West Riding, 1st R.)	No. 39.	14	17
Yorkshire, (West Riding, 2d R.)	No. 39.	26	4
Yorkshire, North Riding	No. 33.	26	7
Yorkshire, East Riding	No. 32.	21	
Total of Officers		1375	
Vacancies			238

* To these may be added the Number of private Militia-Men which *should* be raised or rather ballotted for, by virtue of this Act, viz. 1776, 1777, 1778, which will amount to 28240 in England,
2000 in Wales,

Total 30240

A question will naturally arise from the contemplation of the List of Officers and its visible deficiency, whether the number of Men may not be equally incomplete. The Commissary General will, perhaps, be
able

*Fencible Regiments, the Seventy-eighth Regiment
of Foot, and Independent Companies.*

Strapfey Regiment of Fencible Men, in	Off. Vac.
North Britain, No. 1. —	29
Sutherland Regiment of Fencible Men,	
in North Britain, No. 2. —	28
	<hr/> 56

able to afford Government the best Information. Let however it should be said, in this age of unqualified assertion, that a Militia Regiment cannot be otherwise than complete. I beg leave to submit the following Effective Roll of privates in one Battalion, as it actually stood at four different Periods. I shall reserve my Remarks on the monopoly of Appointments given to Officers, the novel System of Recruiting, the strange Delay in Ballotting for Substitutes, and a Variety of other singular Mistakes (not to call them by a harsher Name) which, as the Noble Earl lately observed, no well-wisher to the Service would conceive it possible to exist among men who come forward *purely to serve their Country*.

On the 4th of March, 1793, a Battalion, which *should* consist of 533 Privates, marched out of the most populous and the richest * County in Great Britain, in the following State, and has continued Defective ever since.

4th March, 1793, total Effective Privates	345
24th June — Ditto	378
6th October — Ditto	459
25th November Ditto	460

* The County of Middlesex.

	Off.	Vac.
Brought over	56	
West Lowland Regiment of Fencible Men, in North Britain, No. 3.	28	
Perthshire Regiment of Fencible Men, in North Britain, (1st Batt.) No. 4.	28	
Perthshire Regiment of Fencible Men, in North Britain, (2d Batt.) No. 4.	29	
Argyleshire Regiment of Fencible Men, in North Britain, No. 5.	28	
Northern Regiment of Fencible Men, in North Britain, No. 6.	28	
Southern Regiment of Fencible Men, in North Britain, No. 7.	28	
Fencible Corps in the Isle of Man	14	
Seventy-Eighth, (Highland Regiment of Foot)	10	21
Total of Officers	249	
Vacancies		21

I make no Remarks upon the Non-commissioned, &c. because I do not wish to anticipate a part of a Work in Manuscript relative to Regimental Bands, Recruiting Serjeants and some other nominal Appointments which destroy the Nerves and Sinews of a Battalion. But I pledge myself to do it in such a Manner, and with such damning Proofs, that no Man shall deny a Fact, which exists at this Moment.—Tros

New

New Independent Companies of Foot.

			Off. App.	Vet.
Captains	—	—	68	
Lieutenants	—	—	55	18
Ensigns	—	—	35	38
* Total of Officers			158	
Vacancies				51

Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Those men, whom the last new Regulations have puzzled with regard to the Stock Purse of a Regiment, will be convinced that there is an accumulating sum which belongs to a Militia Regiment and is at the disposal, not of the Colonel solely, but of the Captains commanding companies, who are to *their* companies what the Colonel is to the whole regiment.

* I should be deservedly supposed to want the most common information did I omit (in mentioning Independent Companies) to specify from the last batch of new-appointed Officers, a very recent circumstance—The younger son of an English Earl (not nineteen years old) who was, only a twelvemonth back, sent to Germany for a species of finale to his education, and who, I may venture to assert, has never been present at one Field-day, holds, at this moment, the Majority in a Marching-Regiment which is gone upon actual service.—Let men who love the service comment on the fact. Quousque abuteris patientiâ nostrâ.

A LIST

A LIST of GENERALS, and FIELD OFFICERS of the ARMY, &c.*

Generals	19	Brought up	1065
Lieutenant Generals	63	5th. or Royal Irish	
Major Generals	77	Reg. of Dragoons	20
Colonels	103	6th. or Inniskilling Reg	
Lieutenant Colonels	224	of Dragoons	21
Majors	284	7th. or the Queen's own	
		Reg. of Lt. Dragoons	19
Total	770	8th. or the King's Roy.	
		Irish Reg. of Light	
First Reg. of Life Gds.	20	Dragoons	21
Second Reg. Life Gds.	19	9th Reg. of Light	
Royal Reg. Horse Gds.	29	Dragoons	20
First or the King's Reg.		10th or the Prince of	
of Dragoon Guards	29	Wales's own Reg. of	
Second, or the Queen's		Light Dragoons	21
Reg. of Dragn. Gds.	19	11th Reg. of Light	
3rd. or Pr. of Wales's.		Dragoons	21
Reg. of Dragn. Gds.	21	12th. or the Prince of	
4th. or Royal Irish Reg.		Wales's Reg. of Lt.	
of Dragoons	19	Dragoons	20
5th Reg. of Dragoon		13th Reg. of Light	
Guards	19	Dragoons	19
6th Reg. of Dragoon		14th Reg. of Light	
Guards	18	Dragoons	19
7th. or Princess Roy.		15th. or the King's Reg.	
Reg. of Dragn. Gds.	19	of Light Dragoons	21
1st. or Royal Reg. of		16th. or the Queen's	
Dragoons	21	Reg. of Lt. Dragoons	20
2nd. or Royal N. Brit.		17th Reg. of Light	
Reg. of Dragoons	21	Dragoons	21
3rd. or the King's own		18th Reg. of Light.	
Reg. of Dragoons.	20	Dragoons	21
4th. or the Queen's		19th Reg. of Light	
own Reg. of Dragns.	21	Dragoons	28
	1065		1377

* To these may be added the rank of Field-Marshal, an appointment which now exists in this country.

20th,

Brought over	:377	Brought up	2109
20th. or Jamaica Reg.		East Riding Reg. of Ft.	33
of Light Dragoons	14	16th. or the Bucking-	
1st. Reg. of Foot Gds.	92	hamsh. Reg. of Ft.	34
Coldsm. Reg. of Foot		17th. or the Leicester-	
Guards	60	shire Reg. of Foot	34
3rd. Reg. of Foot Grds.	60	18th. or the Royal Irish	
1st. or the Royal Reg.		Reg. of Foot	34
of Foot (First Batt.)	34	19th. or the 1st. York-	
1st. or the Royal Reg.		shire N. Riding Reg.	
of Foot (Second B.)	35	of Foot	33
2nd. or the Queen's		20th. or the East De-	
Royal Reg. of Foot	33	vonsh. Reg. of Foot	34
3rd. or the East Kent		21st. Reg. of Foot, or	
Reg. of Foot, or the		Royal N. Brit. Fuzi-	
Bufs	34	leers	34
4th. or the King's own		22nd. or the Cheshire	
Reg. of Foot.	34	Reg. of Foot	34
5th. or the Northumb.		23rd. Reg. of Foot or	
Reg. of Foot.	34	the Royal Welsh Fu-	
6th. or the Warwick-		zileers	34
shire Reg. of Foot.	34	24th. or the 2nd. War-	
7th. Reg. of Foot or		wicksh. Reg. of Ft.	34
Royal Fuzileers	34	25th. or the Sussex Reg.	
8th. or the Kings Reg.		of Foot	34
of Foot	34	26th. or Cameron Reg	
9th. or East Norfolk		of Foot	33
Reg. of Foot.	33	27th. or Inniskilling	
10th. or the North Lin-		Reg. of Foot	32
colnsh. Reg. of Foot	33	28th. or the North Glou-	
11th. or the North De-		cestersh. Reg. of Ft.	34
von Reg. of Foot	34	29th. or the Worcester-	
12th. or the East Suf-		shire Reg. of Foot	33
folk Reg. of Foot	34	30th. or the Cambridge	
13th. or the 1st. Somer-		Reg. of Foot	34
setshire Reg. of Foot	34	31st. or the Hunting-	
14th. or the Bedford-		donsh. Reg. of Foot.	34
shire Reg. of Foot	34	32nd. or the Cornwall	
15th. or the Yorkshire		Reg. of Foot	34
	2109		2715
			33rd,

Brought over	2715	Brought up	3368
33rd. or the 1st. York- shire West R. Reg. of Foot	34	52nd. or the Oxford- shire Reg. of Foot	46
34th. or the Cumber- land Reg. of Foot	35	53rd. or the Shrop- shire Reg. of Foot	34
35th. or the Dorsetshire Reg. of Foot	34	54th. or the West Nor- folk Reg. of Foot.	34
36th. or the Hertford- shire Reg. of Foot	48	55th. or the Westmor- land Reg. of Foot	33
37th. or the North Hampsh. Reg. of Ft.	34	56th. or the West Ef- sex Reg. of Foot	34
38th. or the 1st. Staf- fordsh. Reg. of Foot	34	57th. or the West Mid- dlesex Reg. of Foot.	34
39th. or the East Mid- dlesex Reg. of Foot.	33	58th. or the Rutland- shire Reg. of Foot	33
40th. or the 2nd. So- mersetsh. Reg. of Ft.	34	59th. or the Notting- hamsh. Reg. of Foot	34
41st Reg. of Foot	34	60th. or the Royal America Reg. of f.	135
42nd. or the Royal Highland Reg. of Ft.	33	61st. or the South Gloucestershire Reg. of Foot.	34
43rd. or the Mon- mouthsh. Reg. of Ft.	34	62nd. or the Wiltshire Reg. of Foot	34
44th. or the East Essex Reg. of Foot	34	63rd. or the West Suf- folk Reg. of Foot	33
45th. or the Notting- hamsh. Reg. of Ft.	32	64th. or the 2nd. Staf- fordshire Reg. of Ft.	34
46th. or the South De- vonsh. Reg. of Foot	33	65th. or the 2nd. York- shire. N. Rid. Reg. of Foot	33
47th. or the Lanca- shire Reg. of Foot	33	66th. or the Berkshire Reg. of Foot.	34
48th. or the Northamp- tonsh. Reg. of Foot	34	67th. or the South Hampsh. Reg. of Ft.	34
49th. or the Hertford- shire Reg. of Foot	33	68th. or the Durham Reg. of Foot.	34
50th or the West Kent Reg. of Foot	34	69 or the South Lin- colnsh. Reg. of Foot	34
51st. or the 2nd. York- shire W.R. Reg. of F.	33		
	3368		4089
	H		70th

Brought over	4089	Brought up	4595
70th. or the Surrey		Four Companies at N.	
Reg. of Foot	34	Britain	12
71st. Highland Reg. of		<i>Officers of Reduced Com-</i>	
Foot	47	<i>panies receiving full pay.</i>	
72nd Highland Reg.		Troops of Horse Gds.	
of Foot	45	1st. Troop	7
73rd. Highland Reg.		2nd. Troop	9
of Foot	49	Late 73 Reg.	2
74th. Highland Reg.		Late 75th.	1
of Foot	47	41st.	23
75th. Highland Reg.		14 Companies of In-	
of Foot	47	valids	38
76th. Reg. of Foot	48	Garrison of Berwick	6
77th. Reg. of Foot	54	Black Castle	2
48 New S Wales corps	22	Carlshot	1
Queen's Rangers	15	Carlisle	3
6 Companies of Inva-		Chester	2
lids at Jersey	18	Cinque Ports	8
6 Comps. at Gurnsey	18	Dartmouth	2
One Company in the		Dunbarton	4
Island of Scilly	3	Edinburgh	7
One Company at Pen-		Graves end & Tilbury	5
denis	3	Guernsey	4
6 Companies at Ply-		Hull	5
mouth	18	Hurst Castle	1
2 Comps. at Sheernefs	6	Jersey	4
One Company at De-		Near Invernefs	8
von Castle	3	Land Guard Fort	3
One Company at Til-		St. Mew's	2
bury Fort	3	Pendennis Castle	2
One Compy. at Laund-		Plymouth	4
gard Fort	3	Portland Castle	8
2 Companies at Hull	6	Portsmouth	7
Three Companies at		Scarb Castle	1
Berwick	9	Scilly Island	2
Two Companies at		Sheernefs	5
Chester	6	South S. Castle	1
	4595		4785
			Stir-

Brought over	4785	Brought up	4879
Stirling Castle	6	Mountreal	3
Cliff Fort	2	Upper Canada	10
Tower of London	10	Newfoundld. St. Johns	3
Upnor Castle	1	Placentia	1
Weight Island	6	Royal Artillery	245
Fort William	2	Officers of the company	
Windfor	2	of Cadets	5
Gibraltar	14	Bt. of Invalid Artillery	32
West Indies, Grenada	5	Roy. Artill. in Ireland	32
St. Vincent	4	Invalid Artillery	3
Dominica	4	Royal Engineers	78
Barbadoes	1	Invalid Corps of Royal	
St. Christopher	1	Engineers	4
Jamaica	3	Corps of Royal Engi-	
Nova Scotia	6	neers in Ireland	7
Halifax	4	Officers of the Marine	
Island of Cape Britain	6	Forces	295
Island of St. John	4	Officers of the Marine	
New Brunswick	5	Retired on full Pay	24
Quebeck	8		
	<hr/>		
	4879	Full pay,	*5617
		Half-pay,	4732
			<hr/>
		Total,	10349

Recapitulation of the full pay, including the Fencibles, Independent Companies, and Militia,

5617 Officers in the army
249 Fencibles
158 New Independent Company

1375

7399 Full pay

* That the notes may correspond with the text and title-page, the following comparative statement of the annual Subsistence only of seventy-eight Colonels on full

full pay in the Line, (the Guards, &c. are necessarily excepted) may shew that the bare amount of it is very little more than what the rich Volunteers of an impoverished mother-country receive. Yet the latter are an honourable set of gentlemen who form a Rank and File of Property to defend their household gods, but who have neither bled upon the burning sands of India, nor been exposed to any one hardship of actual service, as the majority of the former must probably have been.

78 Colonels of Marching-Regiments at	
1l. 4s. per day	£ 34,164 per ann.
57 Colonels of Militia at Ditto	£ 24,966 per ann.
The difference	£ 9,198

To the annual Subsistence of the Militia Colonels may be added the amount of the Privates, including Clothing, &c. which, upon an average, of £ 22. 10s. per man will be £ 680,400 per annum.

I leave those men who know what service is, and who have laboured through every subordinate situation to this truly honourable rank, to judge of the equivalent, and consequently of the distribution of public property.

The partial Expenditure of the Court of Versailles, the general Decay of Trade and the Increase of Military Establishments, Three leading Causes in the Revolution of France.*

BEFORE I enter upon a subject which would rapidly lead me to the conclusion of this cursory Address, permit me, my Lord, to hazard a few observations relative to the principal source of our present embarrassments, and to induce a mind, which is nei-

*Will not the hourly additions which are made to the Military Establishments of Great Britain, by the raising of new Independent Companies, and the increase of Officers in old regiments, afford ample scope for comparative reflection?

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ther warped by party nor influenced by prejudice, to draw plain deductions from effects produced by no dissimilar causes.

Until a very late period the Cabinet of St. James's may, with some degree of plausibility, have been considered as a reluctant open party, although perhaps a willing accessory in secret, of the armed confederacy against France*. There were certain

* When I confidently assert that there is not a Colonel in the Line who derives as much emolument from the clothing of his regiment as some Colonels in the Militia, nor any whose situations are more productive of profitable casualties, I hope I may be allowed to doubt not only the wisdom of Government in their appointment, but the sincerity of their own patriotic

ties,

ties, not to call them ties of consanguinity, (for that would be lessening an adopted family's attachment to the country they govern) which implicated the King of Great Britain in the quarrels of the House of Hanover. Ignorance and self-sufficiency

tives in the execution of duty. The dangers and hardships to which a Militia Colonel is exposed are, we all know, as fantastic and visionary as the bugbear of internal trouble or the phantom of external violence. If they are *really* what they profess themselves to be, men who cheerfully sacrifice domestic comforts and private fortune to protect their native homes, let neither absence nor monopoly of situation give the lie to their affected patriotism. In the Line of Field-officers at least (I except the Captains of companies, for it is not in *their* power to peculate, although it might be to evade their duty) there should be a generous disinterested spirit, which, so far from increasing public embarrassments, burns for an opportunity

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had at first been persuaded, both at Vienna and Berlin, that the Revolution of France was a temporary fer-

to make them less. The off-reckonings of a regiment of Foot upon the establishment in 1743, amounted to £2173 os. 1d. the Clothing of it amounted to £1961 17s. 3d. out of the balance the Colonel was to find all sorts of clothing and accoutrements lost by desertion, and other incidental charges, which, in some years are considerable:

However, it appeared that upwards of £578 had been saved by a Colonel, after clothing his regiment; but a Clothier being asked, whether, in general, the Colonel of a regiment does not gain £750 by clothing it, said, He was certain that he did not. The same Author observes in another place, that several estimates were laid before a Committee, which tended to prove that, the Colonels gained little or nothing by the clothing; which however, he adds, must certainly have been fallacious.—*See Treatise on Military Finance.*

I cannot quit the subject of clothing without making
ment

ment of the public mind, which might be easily subdued. Time, however, and unprecedented circum-

a few remarks relative to the gross abuses which appear to exist in the Militia.—As there is a regulation by which the stated time is fixed for the viewing and sealing the patterns for the clothing of the army, (namely the 9th of November) from which act the several Colonels become entitled to the Assignment of their respective Off-reckonings; and as there is a Clothing-Board, at whose meeting the said Colonels in the army are obliged to exhibit proper patterns, why should Militia Colonels stand exempted from so wise and necessary a controul? They derive the same, nay sometimes greater, emoluments, (as I shall hereafter prove.)—Without being subject to that strict uniformity which marks the Line—If Militia regiments rank with the Army, as they unquestionably do, (being the younger of their rank), and are subject to every regulation and article of war by which the rest of his Majesty's forces are directed; if their subsistence and almost every other sum be issued (in time of war) from the
stances,

stances, have convinced mankind (at least the reasoning part of them) that as the faults of arbitrary councils are seldom prevented by the suggestions of good sense and timely foresight, an obstinate adherence to false measures almost always accompanies their decisions. Without attempting to be a species of evangelic source of

same source, and through the same channels, does it not seem ridiculous and contradictory to see any one part of the establishment different from the rest? I much doubt whether more advantages would not accrue to the country (there certainly would be fewer absurdities to obstruct the service) if every Captain, being a responsible man, had the clothing of his company as he has the supplying of necessaries. Nor should the Militia be in Scarlet, Blue Cloth with different Facings and Buttons, indicative of the several Counties would be useful and uniform. The Empire has wisely adopted this plan in the Netherlands.

poli-

political, religious, or even moral information, it becomes this country, my Lord, either to get beyond the storms of two opposite extremes through the first channel that is compatible with its dignity, or to continue its co-operation abroad, without affording instances of the most superfluous expenditure at home*.

* As Mr. Arthur Young, in his late Phillipic, has proposed a Militia for the Defence of the Country, which he somewhat oddly styles *a Rank and File of Property*, the following actual expence of the Colonels for subsistence *only*, will prove how easy it is to vociferate professions of disinterestedness, but alas ! how difficult to substantiate them by patriotic Sacrifices !

Fifty-seven Militia Colonels (*all* gentlemen of large landed property, at least supposed to be so, with a qua-

I have

I have already said that I should not enter into the good or bad policy of our present hostilities, but at the same time I have taken the liberty to direct your Lordship's attention as well as that of the M——r, (if ungracious suggestions can be honoured with a M——r's reflection) towards that similarity and coincidence of things which may afford precaution to ourselves.

To do this effectually (notwithstanding my reluctance to anticipate a specific Investigation of Abuses)

lification of £1000 per annum, or Heir-apparent to £2000 per annum each) receive at the rate of 1l. 4s. per day, £24966 per annum, independent of some Hundreds from Clothing, &c. &c. &c. &c.

I must

I must take the hazard of trespassing largely upon your known candour and affability, by running over some old matter to shew that the internal œconomy of this kingdom might be rendered less liable to the errors and misfortunes which have convulsed its neighbour.

SMITH, in his able treatise on the Wealth of Nations, with much propriety remarks, "That the establishment of perfect justice, of perfect liberty and of perfect equality, is the very simple secret which most effectually secures the highest degree of prosperity to the Three efficient Classes of Community." After what I have already written respecting the Three Estates which compose the

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Constitution, I shall not, I trust, be accused of wishing to insinuate that in Equality of Right there should be Equality of Situation. So different are the sentiments which I have imbibed from observation and cherished in the very bosom of levelling philosophy, that no man has more sincerely reprobated the *inconsistencies of assumed Democracy than I have done, and none more clearly seen oppression and inequality of men under the masks of justice and equality of measures. Nevertheless I cannot so far sacrifice my idea of that sort of general equality and jus-

* If mankind, either in their individual or aggregate capacity, were *consistent*, half their temporary dissensions would terminate in permanent tranquility.

tice,

tice, which makes no distinction between persons to counteract the claims of merit, to think favourably of an unequal distribution of honours or emoluments. *Quicquid sine detrimento possit commodari, id tribuatur cuique vel ignoto.*

Two very opposite inferences which men, equally opposite in their open, though perhaps perfectly congenial in their secret views, will draw from this declaration, make it not superfluous to add, that wherever there is public property to pay public ability every office of the State should be shut against private patronage and private influence. The sketch I have already offered in the foregoing

pages, of our Military Establishments, is a better illustration of the equivocal term *Influence*, than metaphors or similies can give. Whether that Influence be the dust or oil of the Wheels of Government*, or a sort of

* See note on the 'Example of France a Warning to Great Britain.' p. 112. But to wave metaphors and similies let me refer the reader to the following fact in addition to the increase of Independent Companies, for a full illustration of military Influence. When the Colonelcy of a Militia Regiment, usually embodied not a hundred miles from the Western part of Middlesex, became vacant, the next gentleman in succession was suddenly stepped over by the appointment of another person who had never been in the Regiment. He naturally remonstrated against a preference which precluded him from a situation for which, both in wealth and *nominal* service, at least of thirty-two years, he thought himself amply qualified.

political

political Chymistry to concentrate national contributions for partial purposes is of little import as far as

Various have been the reports respecting the result of his application. The following one, I believe, will prove to be the most correct—Lord G—— acquainted him “that Government would not in future entrust Militia Regiments to any man, however large his property, unless he were a Member of one of the Houses of Parliament.” Another report is current that as the Applicant enjoyed a very lucrative post under Government, it was incompatible for a Clerk in office to be at the head of a County Regiment ; but that if he would resign one, his Majesty could not have any objection to his taking the other. To which alternative he wisely replied, that “*he should never give up the substance for the shadow.*”——This note, I believe, might afford ample room for comparative reflection, and if ranged with a variety of other circumstances, must explain the secret of Influence and Patronage.

mere

mere definition goes ; but it is of no small consequence to the Land at large to learn whether a Commander in Chief be placed in that honourable and not less responsible situation, because he has not only been an active officer through every subordinate situation, or been suddenly promoted for uncommon professional merit, but because he is in the actual possession of those great qualifications which neither time nor infirmities can vanquish, and which are indispensably requisite for the wise direction of so intricate an Establishment.

It is of no small consequence whether the Secretary of a War-department be continued in office because,
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with the assiduity of personal investigation and knowledge of Military Arrangements, he is able to correct Abuses and propose Amendments, or because there is a sort of negative virtue, not to say insignificancy, about him which neither offends one party nor materially serves another; in a word, whether the different civil as well as military situations have the original principles of their institution answered by independent public exertions, or are perverted by partial interests?

These are objects of consideration so closely connected with the welfare of every country, and at the same time so manifestly slighted by
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almost every Government in Europe, that to pass them cursorily over would be to act like these men who, while their own houses are on fire, officiously quit them to be present at the misfortunes of their neighbours.

I have often said, and I assert it still, that unqualified philanthropy has nothing to do with the concerns of an individual nation when its dearest interests are at stake, nor should mere humanity constitute the Politician's creed.—Like the Glacieres of Switzerland, a Statesman's mind should be beyond partial commiseration; and although every tender sensation might glow within his heart, like the sunbeams that warm the vallies under,

der, not one should ever reach his head.

But a truce to allegory or metaphorical allusions.—Plain facts, deduced from plain events, are now before us, and neither tropes nor figures are necessary to lend conviction when similar causes are, by comparative reflections, brought to a certain standard of similar effects. We have had on one side coarse and blood-stained Democracy, dressed like a Virgin in all the tender attributes of innocence, stepping out of Paradise to distribute the blessings of Freedom; and when the veil has been thrown aside, we have seen the timid maid stand up to her waist in blood,

blood, and pour from the promised Horn of plenty national famine and destruction*. On the other, the devoted victim of unguarded levity has been figuratively raised beyond the level of mankind to shew that Aristocracy was something more than human.

A delightful vision that once lighted on this orb, and scarcely seemed to touch it; that once was seen just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in,

* I refer the reader, for a personification of this metaphor, to Mademoiselle Theroigne, who on the 10th of August was so conspicuously great in leading on the Revolutionists against the Swifs. This lady was young, beautiful, and apparently sentimental.

glit-

*glittering like the morning star, full of life, and vigour, and joy**—Such, my Lord, have been the two fantastic images by which all Europe is convulsed; and such the false lights by which the aggregate of mankind have been led, for the attainment of fictitious blessings, into the most melancholy paths of wretchedness and

* The intelligent reader will be pleased to recollect, that however plain and unadorned the greatest part of Mr. Paine's writings may be, there are several passages, particularly the one alluded to, in which his Common Sense has been sometimes led away by a warm imagination. With regard to his opponent, Mr. Burke, it is somewhat curious to observe that he has attributed the misfortunes of France and all Europe to the measures which were adopted by SOPHISTERS, ŒCONOMISTS, and CALCULATORS. What was Mr. Burke's System when HE was in office?

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horror. Without splitting, therefore, as half our modern Politicians appear to do, and as the old Government of France most indubitably did, upon rocks which plain Reason directs us to avoid ; let parties cordially unite, and by gradual curtailments at home—since we *must* be engaged abroad—endeavour to obviate those inevitable calamities which an excessive Expenditure, unrelieved by Commerce, will entail upon us.

I do not wish to be ironical, and I hope the application will not be thought ridiculous, when I submit the well known Adage of a sprightly Roman writer* to the consider-

* Horace.

ation

ation of every thinking man. Quid sit futurum Cras, fuge quaerere— which signifies in plain and honest English—*Live and be merry to-day but never mind to-morrow†.*

† As every circumstance, however homely, which can elucidate suggestions, should be brought forward, I will ask the enemies of a sensible and moderate Reform whether, on an estate being materially hurt by extravagance, that Steward is not rather to be depended upon, who recommends a system of œconomy than he can be who, by temporary expedients, keeps up the same profusion without any apparent symptom of future ruin. If the Estate should not be guarded against the speculations of the latter by the wise precaution of entail, the credulous proprietor or his devoted heir are in the course of time not only embarrassed by accumulated interest, but at last reduced to the deplorable necessity of mortgaging the whole inheritance to live upon the refuse of his ancestor.

Had

Had this been the doctrine of their forefathers, Englishmen, I fear, would now be little more than subservient appendages to continental Tyranny. Through their sacrifices of private comforts and enjoyments to secure public Wealth and National distinction, we have gradually risen, amidst the storms of others, to a pitch of enviable Grandeur—As their descendants it is our duty, but it is most especially *yours* My Lord, and every Senator's in Great Britain, to transmit to Posterity the same unblemished name and undiminished credit.

It should be our study, (like that of the good and wise old man whose honourable exertions through life
have

have been crowned by accumulated wealth,) to deliver to our children upon a permanent tenure of Integrity, not only the unimpaired estates our Fore-fathers left us, but likewise some additional advantages of our own acquirement.

In the trust of Public concerns there is no such thing as individual property.* The instant any man or set of men undertake the charge of what relates to Millions, the dearest object he or they can have becomes a secondary consideration.

* When the prevention of smuggling became an object of national Concern, an Act was passed to confine the long boats to certain dimensions. — It was accordingly put in force, and the owners were indemnified

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The hour, I apprehend, is hastily advancing, when the Aristocracy of Parties must yield to Necessity; and when individual interest will have little else to hold by than the obscurity

in some degree for the necessity they were under of suffering by the curtailment. A very short interval, however, soon proved that the Minister had been deceived in his ideas of prevention, as the same illicit practices were successfully continued under the prescribed limitations; another order was accordingly issued and the very boats which had been cut up and put together, as well as many new ones that were built became suddenly useless and were prohibited. Whoever doubts the fact may visit the coast of Kent, and learn from visible marks of coercion that the property of an individual is never considered by a Minister to the prejudice of public utility; how far such a Minister should first investigate every possible obstacle to the fair and just completion of his views, before he sacrifices individual property, let the Deal and Dover Men determine.

of

of retirement, or, should it step abroad, the watchful temper of forgiving Faith. Far be it from me to create alarms on the ground of possible events—Circumstances, however, more apparently remote than almost any we can select among ourselves, have gradually sapped to the very foundations of other Kingdoms; and although France seems alone to have tumbled, from the most elevated pitch of Monarchy, into the broadest gulph of Anarchy, the Politician cannot be ignorant of a wide and visible tendency towards similar convulsions among the most despotic of her neighbours; nor will the confidence, arising from concentrated influence within a Treasury and plumed by temporary

temporary triumphs, save the country, or prevent internal mischief, should any misfortune co-operate with the prevalent spirit of jealous investigation.

The Arcana of State, the tricks of party, and all the labyrinths of political cabal, have been, and are hourly, too closely visited, for the most refined exertion of intrigue to baffle reason. The necessity of subordination, however felt by the Land at large, is no longer veiled in mystery—Government and rational subjection, so long perplexed and *purposely* disguised, are terms as perfectly understood by the *swinish multitude*, as the Geographical chart of Europe appears to be by those who imagine
they

they have a right to divide and subdivide the native property of their neighbours,* from no other cause than because dominion is their lust and privileged rank their object.

If, in lieu of following the salutary dictates of sound sense and experience, we are fatally pursuing the tract through which the short-sighted ministers of France in 1788 and 1789 in vain attempted to force the encumbered and crazy machine of government, the same obstacles must occur, and worse calamities perhaps ensue. The different expedients which were used to divert the people from a galling sense of oppres-

* Poland is an instance in point.

sion only served to engraft upon their minds the rooted hatred of determined opposition. The manufactures of the country first felt the shock—There are many, I believe, in this Island who must remember the lamentable effects which were almost instantly produced by the injudicious Treaty of Vergennes.*

* This short-sighted Minister died a very short time after the ratification of the Treaty—Never did Abilities appear in a more glorious light than on this memorable occasion. Although England had a Duke and Peer of the Realm in the very bosom of Negotiation and at the fountain head of Court-Intrigue, Administration found it necessary to employ talents, which had been exerted against themselves, to accomplish their ends. Their success is said to have occasioned the death of Vergennes; although many have maintained that the severity of D'Alembert, in an investigation of his political character, broke his heart.

Lyons

Lyons, the seat of commercial occupation and manual industry, was soon out done by Norwich, Manchester and Leeds; and from a natural suspension of labour was suddenly reduced to the most limited state of traffic.

Hence the discontents which were manifested at a very early period throughout the South, and which were rapidly communicated from the inland Towns, to Toulon, Bourdeaux and Marfeilles.

Nor was the North less unfortunate. The city of Amiens in the very infancy of this fatal intercourse, afforded public marks of the injuries which its trade sustained. The Looms
ceased

ceased ; and hundreds of outcast workmen filled the whole province of Piccardy with signals of Want and Wretchedness.

England, in the mean-time, was rapidly rising from the losses she had borne during the American contest, and through the indefatigable industry of its inhabitants was soon enriched upon the wreck of that very Nation, whose ambition had almost been her ruin. This triumph, however proved no otherwise advantageous than in occasioning a very large demand of many articles that might have remained on hand.* It

* It remains still a doubt with me whether even this political stroke of the Cabinet with all its temporary benefits—might not eventually have given a death-

likewise

likewise gave an additional impulse to that spirit of speculation which is so peculiarly interwoven with the native temper of an English Merchant. Eager to obtain a ready market for their manufactures, the most numerous engagements were entered into by the first Houses in every Town of Industry throughout the Island. Nor were they satisfied with the customary channels of cor-

blow to our own manufactures—Had the Government of France been settled according to the plans formed in 1789, the Test, Corporation and other inhuman Acts would have occasioned more emigrations of men and transfer of property from us than the bloody Edict of Nantes did from them. So limited are the Speculations of those who consult the present moment without deeply looking into futurity—*Quid Sit futurum Cras fuge quærere !*

respon^{dence}

berty but never experienced the most trifling of its blessings.

The tyrannical effects of privileged indolence were strongly depicted in the contrast of rational equality. Not in that equality of situation and fortune which the alarmed Aristocracy of Europe has so miserably tortured into levelling brutality, but in that gradual subordination which in its most elevated point must have had desert and industry to rise through, before it could obtain subjection and esteem; which cannot admit of principles derogatory to sense and justice, or, (if unfortunately affected in the lapse of time,) which readily corrects abuses by disin-

disinterested reason. A subordination, in fact, which having merit for its basis, leaves all the avenues to wealth and honour open to community, without disturbing one social link by the nugatory pomp of abstract grandeur.

This was the picture, which, in the infancy of belief, imagination drew, and which the galled inhabitants of France beheld in every circumstance of traffic. In the commodities of England the difference of government appeared, and natural comparisons arose between those principles of state which partially give power to few at the expence of

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deur, for every member in society, it was not necessary for the records of Heraldry to be first searched before acknowledged ability could be intrusted with command. The man of skill (although he might have risen from the humble situation of a* Ca-

flatter by lessening the worth of those whose abilities they cannot equal.

* In the old government of France the Gens D'Armes were composed of Noblemen—And it is well known that, however experienced or brave the Captain of a Merchantman might prove, it was impossible for him to obtain the lowest Commission in the Navy—The Army, under the same degrading restrictions, was inaccessible to the sons of Tradesmen. Cooke and Kempenfelt and the manner in which they rose, were instances well known to the French, before the Revolution,

bin

bin boy on board a Collier, to be Post-Captain in the Navy) was not, *they* believed, the less esteemed by an English government ; Nor were the Guards of St. James's necessarily obliged to produce their degrees of family descent, before they could be allowed to move beneath the immediate notice of a sovereign—Parliament, the sacred depositary of the people's confidence and rights, was not, *they* believed, rendered the asylum of titled wretchedness, the retreat of venal property, or the resource of interested cabal. Fully assured that not only the advantages possessed by their English Correspondents in commercial, as well as political

litical points, were not only the immediate result of a good Constitution, but that their own measures were derived from the most odious system of a bad one, they readily listened to the first dictates of awakened anger and resentment.

The ghastly form of slavery had never till then appeared in its real garb of lamentable horror—Enquiry had never searched the different towns and villages, or if it had, their wrongs were only partially viewed, and lay buried under the gigantic weight of countenanced oppression. As Enquiry brought on conviction of the injuries they bore, comparison aggravated what they felt and knew. Every
de-

department (civil and military, temporal and spiritual) exhibited marks of infamous abuse, and every order and situation groaned under a partial kind of tyranny. The indolent and unexperienced sat plumed in insolent distinction, while the active and deserving were stripped of the very wealth they supplied and guarded.

It was not, therefore, an unexpected or extraordinary event to those who knew the country, to see every quarter in an instant rise, and every department either wholly oppose the government that wronged them, or partially divide from opposite opinion; nor was their subsequent union
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of principles singular, when their injuries were proved, and the source of their calamities was known to be the same. The Court and Aristocracy in vain attempted to restrain the popular torrent—Once let loose it gathered from the remotest corner of the kingdom ; and as every individual had long experienced within himself what the tyranny of his rulers would not allow him to make publicly known, the tide of discontent was at its full before the influence, by which it rose, appeared.

The Army, the last and generally the fatal resource of alarmed dominion, had in its combats for America

ca already imbibed very different ideas from those which the Court of Versailles too fondly imagined would operate in its own support.* Merit and Ability had long felt the galling precedence which was hourly lavished upon mere unprofitable birth and rank ; Nor could the solitary Cross of St. Louis (little more than the gilded badge of unrewarded valour) prevent the veteran from feeling that his scars were only noticed, because his services could not be hidden ; but that neither were

* This passage brings forcibly to my recollection the conclusion of a very interesting conversation which I had with the Baron D'E———of the Regiment Au-

sufficient to raise him beyond the prescribed limits of Arbitrary necessity. Hence it naturally followed that a

vergne *Sans tache !* in 1788, previous to the encampment at St. Omer's. This Veteran, who had been at the capture of Lord Cornwallis in America, entered into much desultory conversation relative to Governments in general—He finished by making use of the following remarkable expressions—*Messieurs les Anglais ont envoyè des Talons rouges pour faire la paix en Amerique—Alluding to Lord Carlisle who wore red heel Shoes when he went to America.—Messieurs les Francais se feront la guerre par le trop grand nombre des talons rouges chez eux—The English sent red-heeled Gentry to make peace with America ; the French, by having too many of the same species at home, will light up a war amongst themselves—*Such was the language which an old French Officer of distinguished birth but real good sense, did not scruple to hold at a public table, and to whose sentiments the majority of the corps subscribed.

stand-

Standard was no sooner erected for the wronged to fly to, than the very men from whom its downfall was expected, either remained sullenly passive, or precipitately bursting from the chains they hated, eagerly flocked about it. The few, whom effeminacy or gold had corrupted, in vain attempted to defend the Palace. A mine, with every ingredient of disaffection and revenge, although not immediately placed within its precincts, had already been too widely spread through every order and situation where ability was scorned and ignorance supported, not to have an effectual communication with the whole in the first eruption.

Tri-

Trifling as the murder of the grey-headed mendicant in the Tuilleries by the Prince Lambesc may seem to a common observer, its natural issue was readily seen by the discontents which every where prevailed. Soldiers were soon taught to know and as easily began to feel that the difference between them and citizens consisted in little else than a difference of dress and occasional diversity of employment. But they did not believe (because a Government at first perhaps usurped, and certainly corrupt at last) had in insolence of authority thought it expedient to separate interests by dividing occupations, rational subjection
and

and wife subordination were to be eternally subject to oppression. They had already ceased to indulge absurdity and delusion by tamely submitting to the dictates of partial weakness at the expence of social concord.

* To be the mere machines and instruments of one or more of their fellow-creatures because accident or

* As I have uniformly endeavoured to press upon the mind of my Reader a full conviction of my attachment to the Constitution of Great Britain, the following Extract may not appear extraneous or too minute; especially when some sort of similitude may be found between causes which have produced the most melancholy effects in one country and are not entirely without influence here. I mean in the unequal dis-

force

force had placed a diadem on one and lavished dignities on another, appeared disgraceful and unjust,

tribution of public rank and property.—The Army being a glaring instance in point, I shall present two or three regulations which will prove (as I have asserted), that the fault is not wholly in the original principles of government, but in the practice of them. If it should be asked where this general observation can apply.—The answer is ; From the superseding of a deserving Officer in the Guards to make way for a young scotch Nobleman, to the late notorious purchase over every Captain in the 56th of Foot.—Yet that Government has provided against this and other abuses will appear by the subsequent passages out of a collection of Regulations, Orders, and Instructions issued for the use of the Army.

“ When the Officers recommended for purchase”
 (the same wise precaution holds good in every other case) “ are not the Eldest in their Rank, the Colonel or
 “ Commanding Officer *must* signify his reasons why the
 while

while millions of their own species were stripped and hungered to support ambition.

Nevertheless, the necessity of individual sacrifices for public good,

“senior Officers are not recommended”—What must the Candid and impartial feel were they to hear from a Veteran *“that he was not promoted because he had nothing but Scars and a record of long services to offer !*

“That no Officer shall be absent from his duty too long at one time.

“That every Officer, newly appointed and who has never before been in our Service shall, upon joining his Regiment remain in Quarters until he shall be perfected in all Regimental Duty.

“His Majesty expects from all Colonels that they will not propose to bring in any Officer either from

so

so far from being crushed by this noble emancipation of the mind, acquired new influence by soldiers and citizens conjointly feeling a mutual interest in every offensive and defensive measure. The frailties of human nature did not vanish at the appearance of that political knowledge which, in rendering unto government what belongs to govern-

“ another Regiment or from the Half-pay or otherwise
 “ without having *themselves* a sufficient knowledge of
 “ the character and former services of such Officer, and
 “ having previously satisfied themselves, by every in-
 “ quiry in their power, that the King’s regulations on
 “ that head are intended to be strictly complied with.”

Although this extract relates immediately to the successions of Officers, may not the application hold good elsewhere ?

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ment, restores to the multitude in subjection the fullest sense of all their rights. Nor did the perversion of ideas, (purposely made use of by artifice and interest under the misrepresented colours of levelling Philosophy), prevent them in the wildest paroxysm of roused indignation from acknowledging controul; but it was a controul formed upon the solid basis of confidence, and directed by principles of truth and justice.

These are opinions, My Lord, which may be readily construed into theoretical innovation without a possibility of practice; but it can only be so,

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where neither events justify remark nor experience ratifies assertion ; both however, in France, have been most effectually beneficial to the recuperation of principles which nothing but the degeneracy of mankind had rendered deplorably abortive. Every individual interest and jealous partiality funk away the moment it was generally felt that an unjust assumption of power and unfair distribution of privileges kept asunder the dearest ties of rational society*.

* To shew how extremely impolitic and odious every species of Partiality has always been thought by sensible men, I submit the following observation of the most despotic Monarch that ever reigned in Europe—
After having severely reprimanded his immediate heir

With

With the emancipation of the mind naturally came the emancipation of person. The Peasant's simple frock and the Soldier's loaded uniform

and successor for some misconduct during one of his Campaigns he concluded by saying that—"What might be a *mere* fault in a common subject was a crime in the "Son and nephew of a King." Is not this an indirect reproach upon many glaring unjust distinctions and partialities which are visible in almost every department? Are not *Brothers* and more distant relatives introduced into Office without a reference to service? And do not many Regiments exhibit instances of indulgence arising solely from private motives and family-suggestions? *mere* consanguinity and birth are no honest recommendations to place, pension or preferment, nor can they palliate or excuse ignorance and neglect of duty—These are facts unquestionable—Where and how they apply I leave every Englishman to find out.

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instantly ranged together from sentiments of equality in Right; and as Both had been oppressed, Both rose conjointly to expel their tyrants. The Court in vain endeavoured to restrain by violence what they had gradually seduced by Artifice. The darkness of intrigue was removed by a species of electrical communication of opinion, which not only roused the people from the torpours of submission by an unprecedented stimulus to action, but likewise afforded permanent Conviction—Invidious comparisons and consequent animosities no longer grew out of a separation of interests; nor were classes established to preserve a distinction
of

of parts where unanimity was wanted for the whole. The veteran Soldiers mingled with the unexperienced citizens and formed them for the field. One object was to be obtained, and *that* of such a magnitude that nothing less than an unequivocal sacrifice of every private sentiment was required to reach it. Hence those immediate exertions of talents in the Civil, Military and even in the Ecclesiastical departments which distinguished the year 1789.

The Courtier alone appeared and was dissatisfied with what he ignorantly called absurd and contradictory innovation. To repel their
shock

shock, therefore, force and cunning
 were conjointly used. But as the com-
 mon artifice of state had already
 lost its influence, and was hourly
 baffled by the vigilance of men who
 knew its evils, a mixture of intrigue
 and violence was finally resorted to.
 To prevent a further propagation
 of truths which went directly to the
 annihilation of abuses, the remon-
 strances of the different Provinces
 were harshly returned, their repre-
 sentatives were awed by threats and
 exile, and freedom of opinion was
 crushed by the tyranny of Police-
 Enquiry.* But there was a spirit

* I forbear to make any remarks upon the Associa-
 tions of this country, or the support they obtain from
 the new magistracy. The *Police*, however, is a term
 gone

gone abroad which neither insult, elbowed by contempt and plumed by insolence, could subdue, nor extreme coercion could restrain. *Mere* nominal distinction and nugatory Grandeur were daily drawn forth divested of their colours, and by the

which, if strictly analysed, would produce much comparative Reflection.—I do not say that any of its effects have yet suggested even an ideal similarity between them and the Lettres de Cachets or Inquisitions of other countries—Junius observes—“ Had there been no Star-Chamber, there would have been no rebellion against Charles the First: The constant censure and admonition of the press would have corrected his conduct, prevented a civil war, and saved him from an ignominious death.” The High Court of Judicature in a neighbouring Country may perhaps draw a different inference than is meant to be conveyed on this occasion—Events, most probably, will explain the Comment.

dis.

dent discontent by means which they had the weakness to imagine would eternally be theirs... So true it is that Pride (which is almost always accompanied by ignorance) not having had firmness enough to get right, blunders to the last from an obstinate perseverance in wrong.

The Army, notwithstanding their apparent readiness to co-operate with the Court, had not only been made acquainted with the partial hardships of their own establishment, but likewise intimately knew the different burthens which oppressed the People. inured to discipline they did not however so immediately declare their
ab-

abhorrence and disgust, *because* the ready instruments of coercion were perpetually before them—Nor was tyranny so entirely deserted as to leave to the oppressed the fullest exercise of their resentment. The ministers and their partizans—for I will do the late unfortunate Monarch the justice to believe that *he* was not, an *active* enemy at least to his subjects—preserved the same infamous career, through visible marks of growing discontent, much longer than might have been expected. The hour at last arrived when neither intrigue nor violence could hold their ground. A small body of Troops, headed by the most ignorant delusion, stood
alone

alone in the defence of privileges which they endeavoured to protect from no other motives than because they looked for recompence in whatever shape and by whatever means it came.*

* A few days before the Destruction of the Bastille the French Guards and some Cavalry were collected together in the Neighbourhood of Paris and Versailles under the command of Marshal Broglie—When that memorable event took place, Prince Lambesc at the head of the Royal Allemand endeavoured to awe the inhabitants by the most peremptory exertion of Military Power. It was on this occasion that Louis the 16th refused to accompany Marshal Broglie, who offered to conduct him either to a distant Province or out of the Kingdom; previous to which the unfortunate Monarch had been given to understand that the refractory part of the Capital might be easily subdued by coercive measures—The answer he

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Although in the strict sense of comparison, quotations should accurately agree with the subjects they are cited to illustrate, the following one from Junius will not be looked upon as entirely superfluous since the support of Despotism at Rome only differed as a Cause from that of Versailles*

gave—And nobody I trust, will be so severe, as to assert that it proceeded from weakness only—reflects the highest credit upon his heart because it appears to have been dictated by the purest humanity. Broglio and his courtiers assured him that a stop would be instantly put to the excesses of the Populace if his Majesty thought proper to exert his power but that it would occasion some bloodshed—“*I will remain where I am rather than a single drop should be spilled.*” The rest is too well known to require a repetition here.

* Rome, from an overgrown Republic sunk into an
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by being attached to the person governing in lieu of the government, while the means made use of were alike. The cause of discontent among the Romans, notwithstanding the intrinsic defects of the whole system, appeared to exist in the different Emperors alone; whereas, (through the medium of a more enlightened century with regard to natural Rights,) the murmurs of the French were immediately directed towards those abuses which could only be removed by general correction. The destruction of any parti-

unweildy Empire; France, from an overgrown Monarchy has been broken into every opposite system: Medio turiffimus ibis.

cular

cular individual, who sat enshrined in unintelligible Grandeur to preserve mock distinction at the expence of useful dignity, was of little consequence or advantage if, like the Hydra in History, the corrupted state of the Empire yielded another equally subservient to its evils. The difference, therefore, arose from the government of Rome being left dis-tempered at the heart by temporary corrections, while that of France has been probed throughout all its parts. The similarity of means, however, which was at first adopted by the tyrants of both to obviate the just claims of the Nation at large, so far corresponded with the quotation al-

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luded to, that the Prætorian Bands were resorted to at Rome, and the French Guards at Versailles;* and that *both* proved eventually faithless. Junius very justly remarks after having addressed the K——g in the most emphatical manner, “That the Prætorian Bands, enervated and debauched as they were had still strength enough to awe the Roman Populace; but when the distant Legions took the alarm they marched to Rome and

* Invidious distinctions, as many circumstances in history prove, should ever be avoided where unanimity of thought and action is necessary to preserve national prosperity.—In a country, like Great Britain, every Soldier should be alike.—Where the Soldier is not, jealousy must exist and animosity succeed.

gave

“gave away the Empire.” Thus it manifestly appears that although the Romans originally became the conquerors of the world through the exertions of citizens enrolled for service, the fruits of *their* valour were gradually blighted and finally destroyed by the perversion of principles which never intended that military duties should be separated from social ties and civil co-operation.

What the Ambition of the few suggested the corruption of the many readily supported; and History plainly shews that had not Rome relaxed with respect to the severity of her

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laws at home, her Authority would never have been slighted by the chiefs she sent abroad. No longer scrupulous about her Legions, or tenacious of that nice distinction which divided from each other the mercenary* wretch and the man of principle, (when her impolitic exten-

* That the meanest capacity may comprehend the full intent of this passage, nor confound it with reflections which are more intimately attached to the present Times, it may not be impertinent to refer the Reader to the systems observed by some of the French Generals—Particularly Dumourier and Custine—And the fatal issue of them. Whilst upwards of Three Hundred Thousand citizens, goaded by recollected oppression and led on by Enthusiastic liberty, were eagerly flocking to one general standard from disinterested motives; those men who had been accustomed to serve because they had been accustomed to receive the wages of their
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tion of Territory had rendered Armies unavoidably necessary,) abuses the most inveterate fixed upon every

servitude, fullenly hung back and claimed exorbitant pay*—If my memory does not mislead (and I am obliged to trust to memory alone) the Gens D'Armes and others from the Line were flattered into service by being largely paid in specie, whilst the National Troops were satisfied with Assignats. It was upon the former that Dumourier relied when he foolishly imagined that as Gold had won over those whose principles were invariably governed by it, the same magic would prevail throughout—But he was mistaken.

* Every man belonging to the Gens D'Armes received at the rate of Two shillings and Six-pence per day in cash—En Argent sonnante—The decree passed when Dumourier was Minister of the war department or during the administration of Servan his successor and Creature.

mili-

military department ; the civil gave way to martial jurisdiction, and power obtained by bribery or otherwise, was preserved by every General so long as he could supply the cravings of Ambition or the calls of want. In the corruption of the Army, Luxury, Pride and Indolence, with every concomitant Vice and folly, found a guilty security, which, though always precarious, seemed permanent to those who neither studied events nor were benefited by them. Hence that rapid succession of Emperours, after the Augustan calm— (If I may use the expression) which was so often marked by blood and devastation ; and which progressively brought

brought on all the calamities of war and the annihilation of order,

The final dissolution of this stupendous fabric was not, therefore, astonishing, since its existence hung upon the caprice and interests of men inured to Arms and easily subdued by bribery or Ambition. To support an unweildy weight of Empire different quarters necessarily stood in need of divided forces, and each was separately commanded by chiefs whose private views hourly defeated Public advantage. That props, so visibly defective, should give way the instant a concussion took place, was certain not only because the Apex
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(like the disjointed centre-stone of an Arch) to which they were connected was itself impaired and internal jars were incessantly experienced, but most especially because by outward violence every part was shaken and convulsed. Had the mischiefs, (increased within herself through unrestrained Corruption), been providently watched, the murmurs of oppressed individuals might have ceased with the cessation of that partial tyranny which seduced some to enlist beneath its banners and left others to be the prey of Factions.

Thus far My Lord, I have in as cursory and succinct a manner as the
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nature of the subject would permit, endeavoured to shew that the downfall of the Roman Empire was in the first place occasioned by the injudicious conjunction of citizen-Soldiers with mercenary Troops, and in the next by the Army Establishments becoming universally venal and debauched. By referring your Lordship as well as the inquisitive and experienced Reader to that epoch in History, I have only attempted to establish, upon the ground of antient facts, the possible existence of similar events in the progression of modern institution.

In the womb of Time there is an eternal revolution of good and evil
which

which no human foresight can retard, but which the wisdom of experience may either seasonably adopt or prudently avoid; and however novel or unprecedented the doctrine of French principles may appear, its tendency, I believe will be found to go no farther than what every age has gone before.* The

* In plain words—Every Government which depends upon Force only for Support, must eventually defeat itself—Men, in a corrupt Age, will always be found both ready and willing to answer the views of any particular man or set of men, provided they be well paid—Whoever holds out the largest bribe will naturally have the greatest ascendancy over such minds—Hence the necessity for trick and coercion in every despotic Country—But the Constitution of Great Britain has provided otherwise.—Why then should French Vices be apprehended amongst a people
cause

cause, as I have already remarked, has been invariably the same with regard to the alteration of laws and customs from the first institution of

who are guarded against them by English Virtues? *We* do not want a standing army at home, and the troops we send abroad possess, with the spirit, the patriotic principles of Englishmen.—On this account I am decidedly of opinion, that the Militia, being an occasional supply from the effective residents of the Island, should be distinct in every respect, except in the mere machinery of discipline, from our Marching Regiments. Woeful will be the hour, when a commercial country so circumscribed as Great Britain is, must have its Towns and Villages devoted to Military Tactics, in lieu of being employed in Manufactures. Had Carthage been an Island and remained commercial *only*, Rome would most probably never have been an instance of Republican Madness at one period, nor a memorable proof of Imperial weakness at another.

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Government ; and the means adopted to give effect almost as invariably so likewise. Military power which has always been found necessary to support internal tranquillity and, to keep off external mischief, ever constituted the most efficient of these means ; nor could this armed portion of society—(If properly confined within the salutary line of prescribed necessity) ever grow to so dangerous an importance as to render civil liberty subservient to its purposes.

The moment it did, the most fatal consequences ensued. Private
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aggrandizement instantly superseded public good ; and all the milchiefs which can arise from selfishness and pride sprung out of the wreck of general philanthropy. Where despotism had reached to the pinnacle of insolent oppression all the gorgeous appendages of sovereignty (a term rashly, indeed blasphemously, styled sacred and anointed) were gathered by trick, arranged by artifice and maintained by violence ; the Prætorian instrument of ambition among the Romans, gradually changed into the Janissary of Constantinople, and every crowned Tyrant throughout Europe successively drew from the vanquished and deluded multitude

a separate body to support exact
tion.

Hence that invidious malignant
source of hateful distinction among
men whose duties are the same*, and

* Where private emulation is likely to produce
public advantage, genius and ability should be en-
couraged ; but never in so unqualified a manner as to
occasion invidious comparisons—On this account I
am humbly of opinion that were the first Magistrate
of a country like Great Britain guarded by Troops
equally distinguished in a rotation of equal service,
more unanimity would prevail in the Army than evi-
dently does at present—I ground this observation upon
the evidence of facts—That the Guards fight well no
man will pretend to deny ; but are the Guards com-
posed of better blood, or, to use a trite expression, of
better stuff than the rest of Englishmen ? An honest
answer to this question will be the best illustration I
upon

upon whom the several orders of society equally depend, whenever their tranquillity is threatened—Colours* must be fought for to separate mankind, that tyranny, by a sort of mys-

can offer upon the remark. However, let it not be inferred, either from the passage or comment upon it, that the King of England is indirectly classed among the Despots of Europe.

* This does not condemn a distinction of Dress in general ; but is aimed at the ridiculous and expensive manner in which the followers of mere Grandeur are clothed, and the little attention which is paid to real utility. A Militia-man, for instance, who truly loves his King and Country, would advance as boldly in an uniform of honest blue with the button and facings of his county, as a Prussian Cuirassier or Austrian Hussar in all the trappings of loaded Discipline.

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tical division of interests, passions and caprices, may be enabled to monopolize amidst the calamities of a few, the sacrificed property of all. In a Land of Freedom—and England has long been thought that Land—the principles of Government should never deviate from those of truth and nature—Where they do (even then, perhaps, in appearance only) their deviation must never stretch beyond necessary order and fair subjection. The Crown is placed by the people upon the head of one man that it may equally unite and guard the rest. The Grandeur it reflects is not from what it holds within itself, but from what it has received

received from others. The spade, in the humble drudgery of tillage and the shuttle in the loom contribute more effectually to the support of Majesty, than the coronet and star can do with all their appendages of rank and title. Each in its circle, whether it be enlarged or circumscribed by chance or fortune, is equally great and should be equally regarded.

But in no situation can the justness of this observation be so scrupulously felt and followed as in the Military—I have already remarked that the Revolution in
France

France might have been prevented by a timely retrospect to what has invariably accompanied corruptions in Government. Instead of making a partial use of those men whose original duties go to public security, it became the sovereign, or rather those who fattened upon indulgence to adhere religiously to that system of subordination which affords to every individual the full possession of his rights.

The establishment of perfect justice, of perfect Liberty and of perfect equality is the very simple secret which must*

* So much has been written on this expression that it is almost impossible to offer any thing new relative

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effectually secure the highest degree of Prosperity to the three Classes of civilized Community.

to its real meaning ;—Nor can we reasonably hope for an impartial acceptation until the present tide of unprecedented prejudice shall have yielded to an honest retrospect at plain facts. It may not however be superfluous or trifling to observe that as under the influence of the old oppressive Government there was a sort of magical infatuation in *Le Roi et Nobleſſe*, a consciousness of the manifold hardships they produced, their invidious distinctions and galling privileges, rendered *Le People et L'Egalite* proportionably dear. With regard to the excesses that have followed, and the misconceived opinion that property was to be indefinitely levelled by the word *Equality* it need only to be remarked that among the numerous extravagant propositions which invariably issue out of National convulsions, the Agrarian absurdity was scarcely ever offered—And we are hourly convinced that no such system will obtain ground so long as the majority of mankind continue to be influenced by good-sense.

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This inestimable observation by one of the most enlightened as well as the best instructed Author that

A very ingenious and well-informed, (I wish I could add, a consistent and impartial Writer) has endeavoured to subvert the doctrine which places original Right and Consequence in the people by transferring them both into the hands of the King and his Nobility. He not only asserts that the lower orders are wholly dependent upon the upper, but that they owe their existence as a part of civilized Community to them, and ought of necessity to be thankful to their Masters for not making them, what their Ancestors once were, Slaves, Villains, and Bondmen of Land-Proprietors"—On this principle of Reasoning and Comparifon, continues he, "the Working Poor of *this* age have the least possible reason for complaint. So that because, in a less enlightened Age than the present, a poor man's forefather had fetters upon both his legs, he and his children must never think of having less upon theirs.—Ungenerous and limited suggestion!

The same Author has observed in a former Work (which from the real good sense and honesty of senti-

Britain

Britain has produced, is, I trust my Lord, sufficiently armed at every point by Reason and Experience, to

ment it discovers does not merit this subsequent contradiction) That the Revolution in France *had produced a Constitution which with all its faults gave the most sensible advantage to the labouring part of the people*—It is an ungracious office to select the blemishes of a great mind ; but when, for the sake of argument or from motives far more dangerous, an enigmatical sort of reasoning is adopted to conceal the grossest Contradictions, it would be equally ungenerous to withhold the refutation of them. Without therefore entering into a detail of much contradictory matter in the *Example of France a warning to Great-Britain*, I shall content myself with quoting one passage which, both for the singularity of the proposition and the inconsistency of its principle deserves attention. Bringing the alarms of weak minds immediately home to himself this industrious Writer who, I understand, has some property in Suffolk) suggests a plan for establishing what he somewhat curiously calls a Militia, Rank and File, of Property—

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baffle every species of sophistry. Unequivocally just and firmly sanctioned by recurring facts, it has nei-

As it is in *Capitals*, it is probably a favourite idea, especially in a Pamphlet which teems with the most inveterate hatred to every species of innovation. I shall leave to the judicious Reader to dissect the proposition, and to every officer who understands a Militia to find out the practicability of it—His words are:

“A Regiment of a thousand Cavalry—No unpleasant
 “scheme for some country Gentlemen---in every county
 “of moderate extent, just disciplined enough to obey
 “orders and keep their ranks, might be enrolled and as-
 “sembled in companies three days in every year, and in
 “Regiments once in seven at a very moderate expence
 “to the public: such an establishment would give cer-
 “tain and permanent security against the mischievous
 “example of France, and the equally mischievous
 “propagation of principles in England, which lead to
 “the same Anarchy, civil War, and bloodshed, that
 “have reduced our neighbour to her present desperate
 “situation.” He further adds ‘that all reference to for-
 “mer Militia laws is beside the question’—I feel myself

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ther the Rhetoric of the Hero of Chivalry to fear on one part, nor the accumulated alarms of official De-

peculiarly happy in having so powerful an Advocate for the reform not to say reduction of an Establishment which, as I have already asserted, is evidently defective. For if no reference is to be had to former Militia laws, and a new sort of Militia is to be instituted for the present moment, there cannot surely be any solid reason for continuing the present expensive, and in his opinion, inadequate body of Armed citizens—Arms and Accoutrements are not wanting; and if the gentlemen of his description will step forward, I make no doubt but their tender of service will be highly acceptable to the Chancellor of the Exchequer who in lieu of issuing drafts upon the Bank for £680400 to pay 30240 foot, and £24966 for the bare subsistence of fifty seven patriotic Colonels, independently of a multitude of field Officers and Captains, will have upwards of 36000 horse for little or nothing—This may be truly called Reasoning *a fortiori*. For besides the addition of so large a body of disinterested Cavaliers to the Army Establishment

pendence

pendence to shrink from on the other. Nor will the adoption of its principles be found extraneous to the subject in question, when it is considered that a Militia, or more properly speaking a body of Constitutional Troops (in England at least) grows out of these

ments, without being burthensome to Government, an immediate demand of Cloth and other necessities would employ the necessitous Poor, and occasion a considerable circulation of specie, which now remains inert and useless. But an object much more important to the Constitution would be gained by raising from the landed Property such a Barrier against a standing Army, that it could not be in the power of any man to place the whole Military force of the Island within the circle of M—n—t—l influence— This, however, does not seem to have struck the ingenious Author in question—Intent upon the immediate destruction of French Principles he wages war against that unfortunate people without once reflecting that there is something to be guarded against at home.

three

three Classes—Especially out of that of Artificers distinguished by the name of the unproductive Class, and out of that of Cultivators distinguished by the name of the productive Class*—But most especially out of the latter—For woe to the country at large whenever the manufactures shall be so reduced as to render it a necessary measure in administration

* The slightest glance at the Militia of this country, as it is now composed, will easily prove that the principles of its establishments are hourly defeated ; and I am sorry to add for purposes that afford Corruption the widest latitude. There is a monopoly of situation which while it hinders the particular service of each Regiment and breeds discontent, gradually introduces a general system of interested relaxation. A reference to the last printed List of Officers belonging to the several Regiments, will explain this observation.

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to countenance the enlisting of Mechanics in the Militia, contrary to the first principles of its Establishment*.

* That this passage may be thoroughly understood, the intelligent Reader will be pleased to recollect a clause in the Militia which expressly says that “ *a person balloted for may produce for his substitute a man of the same county or riding or some county or riding adjoining thereto fit and able for service, and not having more than one child in wedlock*”—Implying no doubt a strict injunction for one County to interfere as little as possible with the balloting of another and not to diminish the Quota of others by a mismanagement of its own. That this precaution is strictly connected with good sense and sound policy must be evident to every reflecting mind. For as a Militia or Constitutional Force is a sort of invisible Defence during Peace, which can never be diminished by death or accidents like a marching Regiment) Government should at all times be able to ascertain, within a very few indeed, how many Effective men can be collected in cases of civil Discord or Invasion. This, I presume, can only be done (with
must

Whenever our Continental connections shall so effectually have drained that exuberance of society which

accuracy) by the Minister being at all times provided with a faithful return of what number each county can supply. If, for instance, there should be an unexpected demand of Militia Troops to concur with the small number of Regulars that are generally stationed in and about the capital, to suppress a Popular Commotion, with what security could the Privy Council assemble the Three Middlesex Regiments when, (of one Regiment at least,) the Quota is never complete, and the greatest number of its Substitutes are scattered over England. To elucidate this observation and by so doing to shew the necessity of some new Law relative to the balloting of Men for Principals and the enrolment of Substitutes, I must extend my note by referring the Reader to those Gentlemen, who are Lord-Lieutenants or Deputies, to explain why a Militia Regiment after having been suffered to march out of its county (and that a populous one) is short of its complement of privates, to have taken the Field, 156 ditto, to have re-

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must

must ever be found in a flourishing country, as to have recourse to deserted manufactures, it will not be

mained throughout the whole of the encampment, 74 ditto, and to have made the encrease by enlisting men upwards of one hundred miles from the county, and (consequently *not adjoining thereto*) and to be at this moment doing the severest duty in Great Britain with the addition of *only* one private as late as the 25th of November ulto?

The only answer which I have ever heard given relative to this mysterious subject has been, *that Substitutes are only balloted for once a year, and that no fresh ballot can take place for discharged men, until three months have elapsed:—*As the first Part of this Answer is not sanctioned by any Act of Parliament, and proceeds from motives which I shall explain at a proper time, I will pass to the refutation of the second, by shewing how the two clauses are, either by ignorance or design, confounded together.

The Act says—If a Defenter does not return in three months, another person is *to be balloted for in his room.*—

dif-

difficult to erect upon the waste of industry the gigantic fabric of indolent oppression. A mere name is of

1826.—In another place it is enacted, *that a Deputy Lieutenant may discharge persons balloted for, who are infirm, not of the height of five feet four inches, or otherwise unfit for service. and who shall make oath that he is not worth £100, and to amend the list for the place where such person was balloted for, and ballot for another person in his stead.* To be correct, there is another clause which is unfortunately so vague, that interested men may avail themselves of its latitude, and defeat one of the first principles of the militia ; I shall quote it, not only for the sake of being consistent and accurate, but most especially to press the amendment of it upon the minds of those who wish to render the establishment as efficient as possible.—*When a Militia-Man is out of the County, the commanding Officer may only discharge such Militia-Man, as is unfit for service ; but no man shall be balloted for in the room of the man discharged. unless such discharge is confirmed under the hands of two Deputy Lieutenants, at a Sub-Division Meeting.*—Query.—As the intervals be-
little

little consequence to freedom, if the effect it produces be diametrically opposite to those rights which every

tween one Sub-Division Meeting and another may admit of much abuse, (even among honourable gentlemen who step forward at an hour of public necessity to serve their country as disinterested volunteers,) should not some plan be adopted to prevent those extraordinary chasms in Militia Regiments, which are so contradictory to their first principles of Institution? It is singular, but not less true, that the last Act relating to the Militia cancels many of the former Acts, without providing for several clauses that are still absolutely necessary; and I am sorry to be obliged to appeal to many gentlemen who know how the several amendments, if such they may be called, have been suggested for the better regulating the Militia, to say whether some corrections and additions have not been made in the same ratio of good sense as if the allowance of a S——r were to be increased through the accidental motion of a drunken M——r, and the unguarded concurrence of a H——se of C ——ns? In every thing that appertains to the distribution of public property, a wise government
indi-

individual is entitled to possess. But nominal blessings seem to have obtained the ascendancy over English

will provide against the possibility of great misconduct, negligence and peculation, by throwing round every situation such salutary checks and restraints, as will render it impossible for an individual or his adherents to convert efficient appointments into nugatory situations. How far any precaution of the kind has been attended to in the Militia, and I am sorry to add in some Regiments of the Line, will appear by the slightest reference to the last printed List.—The public will discover, so far from there being, or having been, three indispensable checks upon each other, in three distinct appointments of trust, (by their being vested in three separate officers) that the whole has not only been absorbed in one, but that some additional rank and advantages have accompanied the monopoly.—To be plain, I have known the following pluralities to have fallen to the share of *one* Man, since the Militia has been embodied.—The Pay-Mastership, the Quarter-Mastership, the Adjutancy with Lieutenant's Pay, and the care of a Company; I might likewise add the Chaplaincy, by Proxy, without
 credu-

credulity. It appears sufficient, in the present age, to almost every government, to instil into the public mind

it's Emolument.—As it may be asserted that these abuses, (for such they certainly are), do not come within the cognizance of Government, the following Extracts are submitted for the information of those who might question the reverse.—I give them with minuteness and fidelity because I know that where the interests of Individuals are affected, there is always obstinate contradiction and disbelief.—They may likewise contribute not a little, from the impartiality they carry with them, to establish that sort of confidence in the minds of my fellow-subjects and brother officers which should be the growth of an honest investigation of Facts. In a word, they may serve to discover that a real well-wisher to his country does not disclose evils to produce discontent, but to obviate the unavoidable consequences of neglected reformation. Laws and Regulations are of little import, if they are suffered to be perverted or laid aside.

“ Be it enacted, that His Majesty's Forces shall be mustered on, or as near as may be to the 24th Day of
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those ideas which by a temporary preservation of the shadow conceal the inveterate evils that prey upon the substance.

December in every Year; at which time the Commissaries shall, and they are hereby directed and required to take exact Lists of all the Commissioned and Non-commissioned Officers and private Men, then *actually* existing in the several Regiments, and also specifying the periods at which such Officers and private Men came into the several Corps, and when they died or were removed."

Without most distantly doubting the fidelity of the Commissary General or his assistants, who must have had ocular testimony of the *bonâ fide* existence of each individual, *not upon paper, but in the ranks, upon duty or absent with leave*, it is natural to ask whether the monopoly of appointments (for it cannot be called otherwise) has ever been remarked? The 57th Regiment of Foot—or the West Middlesex, for instance, has, by the last list, 34 Officers with separate and distinct appointments—The West Middlesex Regiment of Militia by a list of a late date contains 21 Officers with as many appointments actually re-

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Without trespassing upon your Lordship's time or patience by any abstract reasoning upon those causes and effects which the most common understanding may trace before and since the French Revolution, or attempting to give weight to these cursory remarks by any alarming instan-

ceiving pay from Government—Qy—if 21 be competent to do the duties of 34, why should the expence attending the difference be issued ? If the accounts of a Regimental Paymaster or the Occasional calls of a Quarter Master be so intricate as to require the *whole* attention of an individual, the Military functions are surely incompatible with either of those situations ? But I leave the discussion of this subject to those Gentlemen whose business it is to render every appointment productive of its separate duties. If there ever was a period in the annals of Great Britain when it became the Legislators to curtail national expence, that period is before us.

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ces of analogy among ourselves, I will briefly suggest a few comparative reflections by placing a most important national question in two different points of view. A question, my Lord, so immediately connected with the very existence of our Constitution, our Commerce, and our Reputation, that, were I to pass it hastily over, I should betray the height of ignorance and futility.

What then, let me ask, will our consolation be, or what equivalent shall we receive for the blood we spill abroad and the embarrassments which we must unavoidably create at home should even the prospect of futurity be more flattering than the

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brightest retrospect at our Continental Victories? But should the issue of our co-operation with the Empire, (which was evidently threatened) be otherwise than fortunate, what, my Lord, will be the situation of this country? How will the increased, not to say the loaded, Establishments of the Army be supported upon the wreck of Industry and Commerce, or the disappointed patience of the Land be flattered into tame forbearance, when all the exertions it can make will not only prove abortive, but eventually detrimental. To be plain, my Lord, there is an honest question which every Englishman has a right to put and which neither interest, pride nor party will long dare

dare to leave unanswered—If there be no danger at home (as there unquestionably is not) what are we fighting for abroad ? To prevent, it will be said, the introduction of principles which go to the immediate subversion of every existing Government ; to co-operate with our Allies and to crush every species of dangerous innovation. And has not experience yet convinced us how absurd and impolitic it is to resist opinions, and to assimilate them, by abstract reasoning, to ourselves, *because they have grown from the womb of old oppression amongst others into the most lamentable perversion of liberty and order ?* There is no similarity between France and England as far

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as the first principles of the Constitution go. The multitude in France were kept under the level of rational subjection by unbounded despotism, the multitude in England have been wisely provided for by their forefathers, and are ranged upon a parallel with freedom and good sense by a limited first Order. Among them extremes, as they ever will, have produced extremes. The unrestrained oppression of one man has been succeeded by the lawless tyranny of many ; and bigotry, first conceived by interest, has by an inverted sort of action produced Atheism and Irreligion. Among us, my Lord, there should be a moderation of principles which the greatest

est political refinement can never so far prevent as to bring about direct Excess. But as every human system, from the natural imperfection of man is subject to a thousand incidents that may impede its wisest operations, it behoves us seriously to look to those plain events abroad which might indirectly be realized at home. The hue and cry of Parties have too long run down calm investigation and honest facts. The Press has teemed, and will teem again, in spite of every effort to repress enquiry, with political and religious disquisitions. Unfortunately for the real wellwishers to good government the lucubrations of closeted sentiment and ingenuity have gone dark-

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ling through the labyrinths of abstract reason and innovation without considering the difference between repairing an old Edifice and building up a new one ; original principles have been confounded with accessory propositions ; and as interest generally catches the first alarm, wickedness or weakness—no matter which, has readily taken hold of the temperate suggestions of honest investigation, wrapped them in the absurdities of impracticable Theory and conjured up a gigantic Phantom of utter dissolution to darken the Hemisphere of gradual Reformation. You, my Lord, and every sensible disinterested man in England know that there are public partialities
which

which not only interrupt the administration of public justice but miserably disgrace the very institution of it. We have Laws built upon precedents the most absurd, and practices supported by custom that reason ridicules ; and we have regulations which, while they are suffered to answer the ends of private convenience, are never laid aside—But at the same time we are provided with Laws, Customs and Regulations which if seasonably put in practice, must produce the best effects, but if neglected every possible calamity. It is here, my Lord that by Comparative Reflection (however dissimilar the original Cause of the French Revolution) we may discover relative similitude

multitude of a secondary one from
 the perversion of principles in the
 government of Great Britain. To
 elucidate this remark by a familiar
 question, let it be asked whether up-
 on a responsible man being arraigned
 for neglect of duty, civil or military,
 the mere production of orders to his
 dependants or subaltern Officers,
 would be thought a sufficient de-
 fence? Although the Court might be
 willing to allow those orders, as I do
 the majority of our civil and military
 regulations, to be wise and salutary,
 their wisdom and good sense in the-
 ory would never excuse their want
 of practice. I have already shewn
 by a very cursory reference to facts
 that the intentions of Government
 are

are generally directed to public utility, and by the same reference I have had the mortification to prove that they are defeated; but whether they are rendered nugatory for purposes which the leaders in Government will venture to indulge, or from original defect is a question which can only be decided by those who are thoroughly acquainted with the tricks and sophistry of Office. The national Debt is confessedly enormous, the national Capital is confessedly diminished, and the national Interest is confessedly increased. These are three glaring Truths which are written upon every Manufacture of the Island, acknowledged by Ministerial loans, and
hourly

hourly strengthened by every sort of civil and military speculation.

It is not then against the introduction of French principles—(for with those we are perfectly acquainted, and from the *original* dissimilarity of Government as perfectly guarded against) that we are combating, but we are co-operating with our Allies for the establishment of order and tranquillity in a country whose convulsions have so materially affected Europe—I will not hazard my own private opinion relative to positive and discretionary Treaties, because I do not wish to deviate from the original purport of this Address
by

by travelling out of our own immediate concerns into the complicated business of others—Nevertheless, it does not appear either ridiculous or extraneous to ask whether England has not as much right to consult her own internal welfare at this moment, as the House of Austria, Holland, Russia, or Prussia could have when they left the whole burthen of the American contest to her solely, and by an enigmatical sort of armed neutrality monopolized the trade she lost? The standard which was erected on the other side of the Atlantic was as dangerous and alarming to every species of monarchical institution as the Tree of Liberty can be on this. To a limited conception of things

things a difference will occur which every solid understanding must reject*. It will be said that the Em-

* When the success of the Thirteen Colonies had naturally given birth to a multitude of ephemeral opinions relative to the rights and wrongs of men, the most reasonable of them soon became familiar to those countries which had been principally engaged in the Contest, Spain, from the natural indolence of its inhabitants, stands alone excepted. Holland soon caught the spark; and however repressed for the moment it may be, both at the Hague and elsewhere, it will most probably be lighted up again whenever the country is secured against the inroads of a foreign Enemy. How easily it pervaded France, and with what violence it broke out from every quarter of that corrupted Government would be superfluous to mention. The tranquillity of England and the increase of her trade sufficiently proved that the good effects of an excellent Constitution could not instantly be thwarted by the blanders of Ad———n. Had the inhabitants of this Island been impoverished by the excesses of a Court as the people of
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pire and the Monarchies of Europe could not be affected by the Rebellion of America, because that Rebellion was confined to partial principles and directed against Great Britain only—Such is the reasoning of narrow Speculatists in politics—as if opinion could be restrained by distance, or be circumscribed to time and place ! Six Years had scarcely elapsed when Truth, like the visitation of Providence, settled in the very bosom of a Country whose falshood and intrigue had without one impulse of honour or humanity, assisted others to obtain what must

France were, the pitiful attempt at a Revolution in 1789 would soon have risen into one general Effort.

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ultimately destroy themselves—It is here again, my Lord, that a wide dissimilarity presents itself between England and the rest of Europe and that the danger of French principles with regard to the Constitution and its *original* government, is found peculiarly groundless. Had there not been a middle class of men whose industry and wealth employed and fed the lower ranks, and by possessing the means afforded undeniable testimony of the goodness of that Constitution, the example of America would have easily broken down every fence of privileged order and coercion. The Manufactures were not as yet so much reduced as to force into the streets of every commercial

mercial Town and Village thousands of unemployed Artificers and Mechanics, nor were Military Establishments suddenly widened to become the receptacles of private wealth or public want. And what, my Lord, as I have already asked (and as no well-wisher to the country can ask too often) what will be the issue of our brightest Efforts? What will Dunkirk, though it should be more successfully attacked and laid in Ashes, as Valenciennes has been, or what will Marseilles, Bourdeaux or St. Maloe though more securely garrisoned than Toulon and peacefully preserved like Conde; what in a word will a triumphal entry into the Capital of that unfortunate kingdom
give

give to us and to our descendants ?
 A short lived blaze of temporary conquest which shoots across the gloom of others, without affording one solid comfort to ourselves !—If with the spirit of a timid and vindictive woman, we are seeking to revenge ourselves on the inconsistent threats of momentary factions, over whom the blade of retribution hourly hangs ! Is the melancholy satisfaction of adding to bloodshed and desolation equal to the slaughter of our bravest Troops, or the accumulation of an enormous debt ? If to acquire possessions in that distracted Land, is the uncertainty of tenure equal to the certainty of disbursement ? Does not History sufficiently convince us
 that

that however extended the conquests of this country may have been upon the Continent of Europe, the advantages they produce were not only short and limited, but eventually pernicious. Without recurring, my Lord, to a very distant period and fixing the flattered imagination upon the Victories of Agincourt or Cressy, let us candidly weigh Marlborough's successes against the uncanceled debts which still oppress us? And if it should be proved that, from those days down to the last unfortunate attempt upon St. Maloe by his descendant, Great Britain on no one occasion whatever has ever been benefited by the most unbounded continental victories, what madness must

we

we not attach to that obstinate perseverance which quibbles about the means of obtaining Peace by analysing negotiation? As if human nature, or rather the policy of man was so altered amongst us, that custom and experience should no longer be resorted to when even the dearest Interests of the Land demand it*. A

* I recollect having heard from a very worthy Gentleman, who was not entirely unknown to the Marquis of Lansdown, that if any particular man or set of men could be consistent neither prejudice nor fortune would ever materially molest them. The cloven foot of interest or ignorance is never so visible as when precedents are industriously quoted or rejected to answer private purposes. Ministers seldom chuse to put in practice, although their adherents often repeat it as occasion suits, what our inimitable didactic Bard has written—

All partial Evil universal Good.

Court

Court, full as proud and much more magnificent than our's, a Cabinet equally shrewd and far more fortunate in state-finesse, and a people more readily pushed into war by a sort of magical delusion which exists no longer, did not scruple to receive and send Ambassadors to Cromwell; nor to suffer the credentials of Versailles to be delivered within sight of the very spot on which their sceptered Relative had lost his head; and *that* by the express command of *him* they knelt to. And why should England, my Lord, with the recent recollection before her of what an American Congress or Convention arrogantly claimed and she as humbly granted, affix dignity or disgrace

disgrace to this or that set of men because alliance like convenient clauses, can be construed as any particular party may judge fit. Every man knows that the faith of Treaties hangs upon a thread which a thousand vicissitudes may break; and which at different times is attached to so many different objects that the breach of the most serious stipulations between one Cabinet and another, produced no other effect upon the commonalty to mankind in general than temporary bustle and confusion. Before the reason for engaging in a war can be thoroughly discussed and understood, the parties grow sick of its calamities and peace is made. The good or bad effects
of

of the one are scarcely felt before the other is lighted up again, and the human intellect is thus hurried out of a latitude of calm reflection into a vortex of counteracting principles—If Lord Auckland had authority to treat with Dumourier, upon the skirts of Holland in January, 1793, Lord Elgin, or any other Lord, may with equal consistency offer and receive conditions upon the Confines of Brabant or French Flanders in Ninety Four.

To address you in this stile, my Lord, is to say, without flattery or equivocation that whilst I revere you for your patriotic zeal and would cheerfully embark in the

same hazardous undertaking*, I cannot so far sacrifice the conviction of my own mind as to discover a more speedy termination of this melancholy Contest in offensive than defensive measures on our part unless it be conceived that the French will more readily listen to the English and their Allies whilst they present their dictates from the point of the Sword and Bayonet, than they would were we to withdraw our Armies, secure our own defenceless shores and leave delusion to defeat itself? The benefits which

* The Author having obtained Lord Moira's permission to accompany the Expedition for Brittany, applied twice for leave and was twice refused.

have

have been lavishly promised to this country by a state preparation and its consequent Armaments, are perhaps to be realized at last by a state of armed negotiation. Every Minister, my Lord, has a favourite measure. In the business of finance a thousand objects rise which either answer or defeat his ends, and the administration of public property is either marked by the wisdom or ignorance with which they are adopted. We are still, however, to learn the policy and good sense which suggested the two last Armaments, and if Nootka Sound is to be buried with the Manilla Ransom we are still left to discover (in monthly letters of service for the raising of Independent Com-

Companies*) how an equivalent will be gained for the immense interest which a temporary saving must eventually bring upon us. Let us then, since we must indulge conjecture—suppose for a moment that your Lordship is to remain in Guernsey, for the Coast of Brittany will not easily be visited by invading Britons;

* It requires little penetration to discover the reason why so many Independent Companies are raised and so many valuable Officers still left on Half-Pay whilst the unsledged sons of Noblemen obtain rank and are sent upon services of trust and danger without having scarcely learned which leg to put forwards first, nor even to come to *the Right about* with judgment and propriety. An Army—it will be said—is raised at a small expence—true—but that Army must be clothed and fed, and those Officers at the reduction of their several Regiments, must be added to the Half-Pay List, *Hodie mihi cras tibi!*

let

let us even go further and suppose you at St. Maloes, Cancale, Doll and Granvillers ; not to penetrate, without reflecting upon an indispensable line of communication, into the interior parts of the country, but with the Sword and Olive in your hand to reconcile divided interests and sentiments the most repugnant ; even then, my Lord, what or where would the advantages of England be ? Would they be found in the boastful records of the Crown and Anchor Association, in the rhapsodies of hireling or deluded writers, or in the mistaken zeal of timorous credulity ?

If, like a desperate Gamester, she has set the whole of her internal resources

sources upon the chance of war, and like him should be irretrievably undone by having it against her? Will they be found abroad in the blazoned triumph at Vallenciennes or in the momentary halt upon the coast of Dunkirk; or will they be realized at home by all the sophistry that either the Robe or Cassock can suggest? No! my Lord, after having become parties in the quarrels of a family which from time immemorial has endeavoured to undermine us, we shall in vain look for the solid blessings of relinquished commerce or the blood, treasure and reputation of insulted manhood, amidst the froth of Chivalry, or the illusive
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language of affected Piety*. Yet admitting,—as I am ready to do, rather than be supposed to affect any extravagant share of penetration—that some good may arise from our co-operation with the Empire*, because

* The sensible man is here referred to the very active part which the *meek* followers of Jesus Christ have taken in the political discussions of the Times.

* We are, in fact, become parties in the quarrels of a family to which neither King, Lords nor Commons are related, unless it be by a nominal *je ne scai quoi*; and in the ultimate arrangement of which we shall most probably be severely taught to experience the general consequences of an officious interference. Should the old government of France be restored, which God forbid! will not the same spirit of intrigue be prevalent at Versailles, and the same jealousy be kept alive that invariably marked their councils? *Naturam licet furcâ expellas tamen usque recurret.* Gratitude is too tender a plant to outlive the storms of national Convulsions, or to grow beyond the wreck of
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some short-lived evils may perhaps have been obviated by a delusive interruption of domestic murmurs and discontents ; nevertheless it is of no small consequence, during our patient submission to unavoidable expences to make every disbursement of public property correspond with its separate end ; and as Government (in the acknowledgment of some corruption) does not think *this* a proper time to remove

parties—should the Royalists succeed—A circumstance much to be doubted—there must be a compromise at least with the people at large ; and when time and mutual interests shall have swept away the traces of their own dissensions, the very men who are now divided into opposite Factions will coalesce and the conduct of *both* parties towards Great Britain readily supersede the temporary Gratitude of *One*.

old

old abuses, let the introduction of new ones be studiously prevented—Of the immense addition which has been made and is hourly making to our external Force—for such I call the Line, the Guards and Hanoverians without including the stipendiary Troops from Germany—little more can be said than, that as England, to use a trite expression, has made a bad bargain she must abide by the consequences.

The different statements which I have offered in the foregoing pages relative to our Army Establishments in general, the subsequent comparative series of historical facts, and

the many inferences which I have left room for in the detached manner they are given, afford stronger proofs of what the ultimate issue must be should the War continue than either pious hope or political intrigue can promise. To continue the subject, why, my Lord, when a vessel has above six feet water in the hold, should her quarter-deck be lined with pampered grandeur, while those who sweat and labour at the pump are left to perish by neglect? This is a home-question; a question that goes into the remotest corners of patronage and dependence; but which will neither prove the Constitution to be bad, the people at large to be inimical to monarchy, nor the Govern-

Government of the country deficient in Theory. It is a question, my Lord, which can only afford those men who are fondly rocked in the indolence of possession, who, in a word love to-day but leave to-morrow to itself—Is the Treasury of the Nation, then, so much exhausted that Military employments, must, like India scrips, be hawked about the alley, and the best bidder be preferred to merit without a reference to Service or ability? If the means to carry on hostilities be equal to the expenditure they occasion, why does the list of half-pay Officers stare M—n—s in the face with all the gloomy silence of reproach? If the danger of invasion from abroad be

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as real as the spirit of unqualified disaffection is fictitious at home, why are upwards of Two Hundred and Thirty vacancies to be found in the Militia, or a monopoly of situation for the sake of lucre? Gentlemen, my Lord, Dukes, Marquisses*, Barons and 'Squires who voluntarily step forward to defend their house-

* To convince the World that this is not a string of hazarded interrogatories without foundation, I beg leave to refer my reader to a Regiment of Militia which was lately quartered at Gosport, for a confirmation of the following fact.—A Gentleman of Fortune is at this moment in a diplomatic situation several hundred miles out of England although actually Colonel of a County Battalion embodied for service, and receives the whole of his Subsistence, without the most trifling deduction. There are others, with the rank of Field-Officers, who not only draw their pay but take every advantage that their situation af-

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hold Gods cannot surely look for every trifling emolument that is attached to rank—If they do, how shall we explain their trumpeted possessions of *disinterested* zeal ? And if they do not, how shall we account for that easy indifference about the duties of their appointments which so frequently defeats the wisest orders* ? Should the country be

lords—yet these are *disinterested* Honourable Gentlemen who serve their Country for nothing !

Let those think now who never thought before,
Let those who always thought now think no more !

His Majesty does not approve of Officers in the Militia going to the Armies upon the Continent.—Yet the Colonel of a Militia-Regiment may go as Ambassador to Venice.

* I have heard it asserted—And if I may judge from the absurdity of dress which daily presents itself in some
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in danger it will contribute little to her defence to have it said that the leading Officers of her constitutional

Regiments of Militia, the assertion does not seem ill-founded.—That the Colonels of them have a full and undisputed right to dress and undress, to add and to diminish, to give facings or not to give them, &c. to make, in a word, a whole Battalion the illustration of Old Vellum's whimsical idea of a Beard and no Beard.—That is in plainer words to have Flank Companies which are Grenadiers and are not Grenadiers, Light-Infantry Men and not Light-Infantry Men, Serjeants and not Serjeants, &c.—That I may not appear partially severe or generally romantic, I appeal to the worthy Marquis, with whose expression I have opened this Address, for a confirmation of the following fact.

When the three Regiments commanded by Lieutenant General Johnston—An Officer not only distinguished by his length and éclat of Service, but deservedly valued for the politeness of his manners—Were reviewed—The Line afforded to the observer's eye one of those singular

Forces

Forces are members of this or the other house, or that they are men of property and influence. Greater

motley-figures which neither please nor immediately disgust. Two thirds at least of the Brigade were placed upon the right wing with cocked hats to act as Grenadiers, on the left of whom stood the Light Company; next to these, a small body of large-sized men with Grenadier-Caps, was drawn up, which composed the center, while the left presented a whimsical range of Helmets purchased from the Light Horse.—So that instead of a fine Company of Grenadiers, properly accoutred, being posted upon the right, every feature of a Battalion-Company was preserved, and only checquered in the most trivial manner by a coloured feather.—The center, on the contrary, was not only dressed like Grenadiers, but consisted of men who were uncommonly tall and full chested, two requisites for a good right-flank-man; too many comments have already been made upon the left, to require any additional observation here; but that I may not leave the subject without having given a full and clear idea of the fact in question, I will

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exertions than mere temporary service can afford will be required on such an occasion, and should it never occur, does not the poverty of the Land point out other channels

take the liberty to mention my own upon the occasion— which, ridiculous as it may seem, is still before me in three distinct figures composing one line of small Geese upon the right, large Norfolk Turkies in the center, and Suffex Dab-Chicks upon the left.

I hope no gentleman of the several Corps alluded to will take this whimsical comparison in dudgeon, or interpret any part of the remark into personal ridicule. Feeling, as I do, the greatest respect for those with whom I had the honour to be intimately acquainted, I should be sorry to sacrifice their good opinion to the most trifling dictate of wit or humour. But farcical representations frequently produce more effect than the severest animadversion. The intent, besides, is incontrovertibly good, since it goes to prevent the most trifling deviation from the Regulations of the Army.

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for the distribution of upwards of £25000 annual subsistence to Colonels *only* than those of vociferated Patriotism? It may perhaps be answered that the country is neither so impoverished nor the Treasury so much exhausted as to stand in need of any such voluntary tender on the part of property in the Militia, nor the Army so encroached upon by adventitious purchase as to preclude acknowledged merit and ability. If the evidence of facts to the contrary were not hourly before us assertions of the sort might be credited from the confidence with which both objects are supported in contradiction to them.

To be ironical on an occasion of this sort, my Lord, or to checquer a subject—which is a serious and melancholy one indeed—with whimsical suggestions may be thought unworthy of it. The singularity of the Age we live in is the only excuse I can offer for observing that as the wealth of the country is admitted to be equal, if not superior, to every home or foreign-expenditure and the war may consequently be carried on, a very respectable Corps de Reserve might be formed of British Generals, &c. There could be no difficulty in drawing them from the loaded shelf of promotion; and the advantages would be the greater because every one, in his separate capacity

city, would be able to act as an Ulysses, a Nestor or an Ajax—On the other hand, a Battalion of independent young Noblemen, who have obtained more rank in one day than many hundreds in the Line can derive from twenty years service, might be collected to fill the different Posts of Honour—Such as attacks of Batteries, advanced Piquets, Light Infantry manœuvres, and a variety of other desperate but glorious enterprizes—All this might be done without the most trifling interruption in the regular routine of the main Army by disgusting patronage. To be serious, my Lord—for I feel the impropriety of humour—would not the designs of a wise and just Administration

ministration have been more effectually answered, and the country at large have been better served had the nobility generously stepped forward to support them without loading an Establishment that has already passed its bounds by a burthensome loan of Officers and men ? But I digress—Ministry, I make no doubt (allowing myself to think as many good people do) have very substantial reasons for the extraordinary measures they pursue ; and time alone must unravel the mystery. Without, therefore, joining the majority of the people—at least the sincere wellwishers to the country—in an unqualified exertion of continual hostilities, permit me, my
 Lord

Lord, to suggest a few reflections relative to our home-Establishments, but most especially the Militia—An Institution as laudable in its first principles as it is hourly made otherwise by the perversion of them—Grasping, as a mind like your's must do, every preceding thought and relative remark within a narrow circle of perspicuity it will be unnecessary to go beyond a statement of bare facts, as the amendments will be naturally dictated to you by your own judgment and experience.

To begin then with what I humbly conceive to be an object of no small importance to a country that is stripped of every other internal defence,
 why,

why, let me ask, is any one Regiment of Militia incomplete? Why are Officers at an hour of imminent danger—for the French may return us the intended compliment of invasion—allowed indulgencies of situation which must inevitably defeat the purpose of their appointment? Why are whim and caprice to be gratified at the expence of *real* service*, while

* I have said, in the introduction to this Address, that it is not my wish or intent to call the wisdom of Government in question so far as relates to the generality of rules and regulations for the Army and Militia, in proof whereof several extracts have been offered—But I have unavoidably called in question the practice of them—A reference to the last general Muster will convince the Sceptic whether the following injunctions have been attended to.

“ And whereas it is essential to the good of our service
the

the voluntary exertions—if such they

“that the Arms, Accoutrements and Cloathing of our Re-
 “giments should be always kept complete and in proper
 “order, and that the strictest attention should be paid not
 “only to the Discipline, but to the interior Economy
 “of each Corps, it is our will and pleasure that the fol-
 “lowing returns be made up and sent to our Secretary at
 “War, and adjutant General respectively—viz—A re-
 “turn of Officers present and absent ; a return of Non-
 “Commissioned Officers and private Men ; a general re-
 “turn of the Regiment ; a Field return ; and a return of
 “the Arms, Accoutrements and Clothing. That the
 “Officers, who shall respectively receive and inspect each
 “Regiment, do add such further remarks and observati-
 “ons of his own, as may, in every particular, tend to give
 “us full information of the actual state and condition of each
 “Regiment.”

A correct state of one Regiment of Militia as it stood
 at four different periods, has already been offered in the
 preceeding sheets.—It cannot be extraneous to the
 subject to give the following remark on the con-
 may

may be called—of our country gen-

sequences of its doing severe duty in so incomplete a state, while there are Regiments within a day's march who have neither been encamped, nor been sent to garrison, yet are full and effective to a Man. Let it not, however, be inferred that either the Officers or Men belonging to the Battalion in question are averse to service if a voluntary tender of it in two instances can prove the contrary, those instances have occurred, and they have made the tender. Where the fault lies—for I will not conceive it possible that any Regiment should be partially ill-used—I know not.—There is a gross neglect somewhere.—Among the evils it has already produced, the subsequent one is not the most trivial.—Within the last five days the Sick List amounted to 53, out of 329 duty men, 112 of whom are each day for guard.—Let any man who understands a roster, form his calculation of reliefs, and he will not be surprised to find 53 diseased out of 329, whilst the return out of 1612 French Prisoners was only 63 on the same day.—Yet one body of men are supposed to be the picked inhabitants of a county, while far the greater number of the other consists of old, wounded and
tlemen

men, are as amply paid as the

half starved miserable objects, attended by all the vicissitudes of foul air and close confinement.

Again : " The commanding Officers of Militia-Corps
" are hereby apprized that his Majesty has given orders to
" the General Officers commanding in Camp or Districts
" who are considered by his Majesty as Reviewing Generals
" to report to his Majesty every instance of irregularity and
" negligence which they may discover in the
" modes of stating the accounts or discharging the balance
" upon them ; as well as every instance of excess in the
" quantity or price of the necessaries furnished to the men ;
" of deficiency in the quantity and goodness of the Articles
" at which they are allowed to be charged ; and of
" Expenditure for articles of Dress or Ornament not sanctioned
" by his Majesty's Regulation."

19th of September, 1793.

War Office

The following anecdote may perhaps convince some people, that the internal economy of a regiment is of no small consequence to the welfare of it.—I do not give it in

while the first principles of the Militia are supposed to have amply provided for every part of the Coast? It is not sufficient, my Lord, in these Times, to have Fleets in Port or riding in the Channel—There

plification of it, especially as every part of the coast affords variety of instances in point—I have heard it said that a certain D—e should be indulged in his peculiar turn for such experiments as he does not receive the least emolument from his situation—Does this indemnify the country for Millions of voted sums to build and rebuild unserviceable Forts or is it a sufficient answer to the public, in instances of error or misapplication of national property, to say that the person who has the chief direction of the ordnance is rather impoverished than enriched by the charge? As well might the Steward be called valuable who, neglects or mismanages an Estate in such a manner as to reduce the income annually, because he has undertaken the care of it without personal lucre or emolument.

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is a spirit of Enthusiasm, goaded by excess of population and consequent necessity among our foes which looks for no security beyond the sword— With us, I fear, there is a torpour and inactivity derived from confidence ill-grounded, that may soon or late convince the firmest advocate for every measure of the present Administration, that the means adopted to secure the Island are as inadequate as the resources are sufficient to protect it if properly applied.

What then—it may be asked and not improperly—would the friends of the people, as they are styled in
one

one quarter, the advocates for a Re-
form as they are called in another or
the wellwishers to the country as
they call themselves in every situati-
on and place, oppose to the possible
introduction of Anarchy through the
medium of French principles? They
would oppose that, my Lord, which
every honest man must lament with-
in him ; they would oppose (to make
those evils less) the *real* situation of
the Merchants and Manufacturers,
the *real* miseries of the poor hourly
increased by the stagnation of Trade,
against the *fictitious* alarms of our
country-Gentlemen and unmolested
pensioners ; they would oppose a Mi-
litia Establishment cleared of innu-
merable abuses, against the invasions
of

of every external enemy ; they would oppose an unequivocal sacrifice of private lucre and convenience against a visible delapidation of public property for mysterious purposes ; they would annihilate Corruption by an immediate dissolution of sinecures, and call forth neglected merit by an equal distribution of serviceable rank and emoluments at home, and they would acquire the means by a termination of hostilities abroad. Or if we must continue in the deplorable scenes of blood and desolation, they would place us in such a state of defence as neither to dread a designing Enemy without nor have to guard against a far more dangerous one within ; they would improve

prove our Navy, reduce the useless
 part of our Military establishments,
 leave the mummery of Fortifications
 to moulder without affording any
 further records of useless extrava-
 gance; employ the outcast of com-
 munity in the cultivation of foreign
 discoveries or in moments of despe-
 rate enterprize; they would have
 a cordon of effective artillery along
 the coast in the room of ill-directed
 and as ill-provided batteries; they
 would, at a less expence than our
 present establishment incur, have a
 formidable Fleet at Sea, a well ap-
 pointed Army on Land, and every
 possession abroad amply secured and
 doubly guarded. In a word, they
 would oppose you, my Lord and
 others

others that think and act as you do, as centre-points of confidence between the monarch and his subjects against partial mistrust, and place the Nation in a predicament to be able to offer or accept of peace without dishonouring Great Britain. They would oppose the ingenuous temper of a man who is deservedly esteemed by all Parties against the pride and petulance of a few who would sacrifice the many, and by so doing they would restore to the Land at large the Commerce it has lost, bind up the bleeding wounds of its inhabitants, give energy to reason, and leave Delusion to govern where Ignorance prevails.

E N D.

